



THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

LX

(December 16, 1934 - April 24, 1935)



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PREFACE

Two days before the present volume (December 16, 1934 to April 24, 1935) opens, the formation had been announced at Wardha of the All-India Village Industries Association, with J. C. Kumaramappa as Organizer and Secretary. This was done in pursuance of a resolution passed by the Congress at its Bombay session held in late October. The same session set the seal on Gandhiji's long-deliberated decision to leave the Congress, for the reasons enumerated in the preceding volume.

The two events are interrelated and mark a development in Gandhiji's leadership of the national struggle that appeared to be wholly logical, even inevitable, at that juncture. The country had been placed under a reign of repressive laws, which Gandhiji thought had seldom been "equalled in British Indian history". Justifying this assessment, Gandhiji said: "I have a vivid memory of Jallianwala Bagh. I have read Kaye and Malleeson's volumes on the Sepoy Revolt, as it has been called, of 1857. . . . Then, it was the naked sword. The repression represents the gloved fist, but deadlier on that account" (pp. 49-50). "The policy has now been definitely adopted," he noted, "of never conceding to the popular demand. . . . They are now doing what they have never dared before. They have evolved a new philosophy" (pp. 377-8). The country was in no condition to offer resistance to this all-out repression. Political spirits were low and the mood was one of defeatism, if not of despair. But Gandhiji did not lose hope. Writing to Mrs. Lindsay, he said, "We have very difficult times here in every way," but he knew "that winter must be followed by summer" (p. 51). Gandhiji's hope sprang from his faith in ahimsa. "There is no limit," he wrote to Premabehn Kantak, "to the power of ahimsa, as there is none to that of the votary of ahimsa" (p. 387). But his ahimsa, Gandhiji felt, was on trial. "If I have it in me," he wrote to Agatha Harrison, "it must be self-luminous even as the sun" (p. 277). He had, therefore, as he explained to an English correspondent, retired from the Congress because, among other reasons, he wanted "to impose silence upon myself . . . about the political measures of the Government" and "to explore the yet hidden possibilities of non-violence" (p. 50). The village reconstruction programme which Gandhiji had undertaken through the All-India Village Indus-

tries Association was planned in this mood. It had been, he explained, "deliberately made non-political and autonomous" and had "no further aim than that of bringing about the economic, physical and moral betterment of the villagers" (p. 18).

The programme was to take up and develop "as many industries as are necessary for the moral and material growth of village life" (p. 103). They included spinning and weaving, tanning, oil-pressing, soap-making, bee-keeping, hand-husking of rice and hand-grinding of wheat, *gur*-making, paper-making, and so on. As was his wont, Gandhiji did not rest content with laying down a general outline of the programme for the A.I.V.I.A., but went into the minutest detail in planning its execution. He called upon everyone engaged in village uplift work to "examine all the articles of food, clothing and other things that he uses from day to day and replace foreign makes or city makes by those produced by the villagers in their homes or fields with the simple inexpensive tools they can easily handle and mend" (p. 109). The aim here was not, as some well-meaning critics feared, to flood India with cottage-made goods that would have no buyers. As Gandhiji said: "This is no programme of preparing shoddy goods in the villages and forcing them on unwilling buyers. There is to be no competition, foredoomed to failure, with foreign or swadeshi corresponding articles. The villagers are to be their own buyers. They will primarily consume what they produce. For they are ninety per cent of the population" (p. 415). What was thus intended was to free the villages from dependence on cities and from the tyranny of centralized production, thus fostering economic autarky that would provide a reliable infra-structure for swaraj. For Gandhiji was not at all sure that "a vast country like India, with her millions of people . . . can afford to have large-scale industries . . . Large-scale, centralized industries in India . . . must mean starvation of millions . . ." (p. 104).

Gandhiji did not confine himself only to the economic well-being of the rural population. The programme also "aimed at promoting the health and vigour of the villagers" (p. 268). As he went to work, therefore, a host of ancillary questions, not raised before very definitively, immediately became important to him. In the matter of food-stuffs, for instance, it had long been suspected that mill-produced or mill-processed articles, especially polished rice, fine-ground flour and crystal sugar, were injurious to health. Gandhiji took upon himself the task of proving that the suspicion was justified. In the case of rice espe-

cially, Gandhiji was very particular. He invited medical men, biochemists and scientific workers to investigate and report on what happened to rice when it was processed and polished in the mills. Their verdict was that, in polishing, rice lost vitamin B and protein along with the pericarp. Gandhiji, in a series of articles in *Harijan*, discussed the matter, advocating the husking of rice by grinding it in wooden querns, so as to make sure that the entire grain was left intact including the pericarp. When the difficulty was raised that such rice was difficult to digest, he pointed out that that was so because it was more nutritious. He also suggested a way of cooking rice, based on his experience as a "practised cook"—soaking it for at least three hours and then putting it into boiling water, the cooking to continue till it became one solid mass (pp. 178, 231, 258, 275 and 311).

The next item he took up for analysis was milk: the question being whether cow's milk was in any way different from buffalo's milk from the point of view of nutrition. He prepared a questionnaire and sent it for opinion to medical experts. Summing up their opinion, Gandhiji said: "... the opinions ... of eminent medical men and dairy experts sufficiently prove the superiority of cow's milk over buffalo's" (p. 250). Similarly, in the case of *gur* the verdict was that it was 33 per cent more nutritious than sugar (p. 33). In addition to unpolished rice, hand-ground wheat and *gur*, Gandhiji suggested inclusion in the menu of uncooked green leaves of certain vegetables and even wrote a separate article on the subject (pp. 229-30).

Gandhiji also laid great stress on village sanitation. He elaborated methods for the disposal of human excreta. Citing Poore and Fowler, he recommended the digging of trenches "six inches wide and a foot deep" (p. 299), which would serve as lavatories. In this way, he asserted, human faeces could be turned into rich manure for the soil. He quoted Brultini to the effect that "nitrogen derived from the 282,000 residents of Delhi is sufficient to fertilize a minimum of 10,000 and a maximum of 95,000 acres" (p. 303). "If we all become scavengers," he said, "we would know how to treat ourselves and how to turn what today is poison into rich food for plant life" (p. 303). To set an example he, along with his closest co-workers, took up the task of cleaning up Sindi, a village near Wardha (p. 301).

The possibilities inherent in a successful implementation of such a comprehensive scheme of economic and social reorganization were immense. As Gandhiji put it; "... it will give

hope to the millions of villagers; it will turn the city-dwellers, who are today their exploiters, into real helpers and servants; it will establish a living link between the intelligentsia and the illiterate masses; it will be instrumental in abolishing all distinctions between man and man, and it will turn the villagers from being mere creators of raw produce, which they have practically become, into self-sustained units . . ." (p. 17). For obvious reasons, the programme did not please the Government. It saw in it nothing but subversive possibilities and promptly issued a confidential circular instructing authorities everywhere to keep a watch on the work of the A.I.V.I.A. At the same time it proposed allotment of one crore rupees to the provinces "for the economic development and improvement of the rural areas in order to forestall Congress activities". Said Gandhiji: "I should be very glad if the Government were to take the wind out of my sails. Much of the work that I propose doing is what Government ought to do. Let Government do whatever they can do, only let not anything be superimposed on the people" (p. 72).

Some well-meaning friends and critics, too, considered Gandhiji's attempt to revitalize India's village life as quixotic. Evidently in their estimation laws of economics were not subject to human wishes. Gandhiji did not agree. He said: "The principles of economics are not, like the principles of mathematics . . . immutable, and for all times and climes. . . . A country which produces no food-stuffs and produces only minerals must have different economics from that which produces food-stuffs but has no mineral resources. . . . India was once the land of gold. . . . even now we can regain that proud position" (pp. 255-6). Then again Gandhiji did not share the view that the laws of economics were amoral. He said: "Economic laws like many others appear to be of two kinds, good and bad. Good laws should be good for all" (p. 30). Similarly when Srinivasa Sastri chided Gandhiji for trying, if he could, to turn civilization "back on the course it has pursued for some millennia", Gandhiji wrote back: "If I could do it, I would most assuredly destroy or radically change much that goes under the name of modern civilization. . . . But the attempt to revive and encourage the remunerative village industries is not part of such an attempt . . ." (pp. 54-5). Gandhiji's aim just then was "to change the mentality of the people . . . to turn their mind in favour of indigenous industries" (p. 56), and he knew that even this limited aim required prolonged and

patient effort. But, as he said in another context, "The history of man and woman is still in the making. What are a thousand or even a million years in the limitless cycle of time?" (p. 94)

Then there were some workers who took exception to the way in which the columns of *Harijan* were being occupied with the development of the village industries scheme, instead of being exclusively devoted to the anti-untouchability campaign. Gandhiji's explanation was: "Any problem connected with the welfare of villages as a whole must be intimately related to the Harijans, who represent over a sixth part of India's population. If villages get good rice and flour, Harijans will benefit by the change as much as the rest of the population. But there is a special sense in which Harijans will benefit. Tanning and the whole of the raw hide work is their monopoly, and economically this will occupy perhaps the best part of the new scheme" (p. 15).

Apart from the practical benefits to the masses, the programme offered to the workers an opportunity of escaping from the inertia and ennui into which they had fallen. Gandhiji was inviting them to become converted to the religion of humanity in whose pursuit, as he declared in his brief contribution to Radhakrishnan's *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, "... one has to lose oneself in continuous and continuing service of all life." "Realization of Truth," he added, "is impossible without a complete merging of oneself in and identification with this limitless ocean of life." For him, personally, such social service was a spiritual necessity; there was "no happiness on earth beyond or apart from it" (p. 106). For Gandhiji, it would seem, this necessity arose from no abstract metaphysical ideas about God and one's duty to God, but from his living concern for the lot of the poor and the downtrodden, which allowed him no rest, though he had had no rest for several years. "How can one have rest," he asked, "with a raging fire within?" (p. 46)

Gandhiji's views on all social, political and economic questions had their root in his view of the moral nature of man and he was uncompromising in his opposition to any institution or practice which seemed to him to deny that nature. This is particularly evident in his attitude on the question of birth-control, which was now becoming an important subject of public discussion. Gandhiji was frank and forthright in his expression of opposition to the use of contraceptives. He feared that, as their use spread, "Men and women will be living for sex

alone." Under well-regulated conditions, he believed, self-control was possible for ordinary men and women. "Contraceptives," he said, "are really for the educated people," whom he called the "sick" of humanity because "their food and drink and the exceedingly artificial life that they are leading have made them weak-willed and slaves to their passions" (pp. 67-8). Man did not live by the same law as the other animals did. "The lion in his majesty," as Gandhiji vividly put it, "is a noble creature and he has a perfect right to eat me up, but I have none to develop paws and pounce upon you." But man was easily tempted to choose the downward path and live like the brute, especially when that path was "presented to him in a beautiful garb", as he believed was being done by the advocates of contraceptives. Gandhiji did not accept the argument, either, that the use of contraceptives was necessary for the protection of woman on the ground that she was the victim of man's sexual aggression. "There is no poor woman," he said. "Poor woman is mightier than man . . ." (pp. 95-6). "She should," therefore, "realize her majesty and train herself to say 'No' when she means it" (p. 67). While Gandhiji's views on village-oriented economy have won gradual recognition from professional economists, the moral foundation of those views has not been fully appreciated and his views on birth-control, therefore, which rest on the same foundation, have found few supporters.

During the entire period covered in this volume, except for a month spent in Delhi, Gandhiji remained at Wardha and for a month he was observing silence, during which time he attended to correspondence. This was voluminous. Of the 643 items reproduced here, no less than 434 are letters. These were written at all hours, to all kinds of people and dealt with all kinds of problems. They were written on hand-made paper, in village-made ink and with a reed pen, as Gandhiji sometimes let the addressees know (pp. 9, 14, 30 and 82). Those addressed to his closest co-workers and relatives provided guidance and advice. To Manilal Gandhi he said: "One should learn non-violent language for criticism. You or anyone else writing it could have expressed the same thing in a sweet language" (p. 265). And to Amrit Kaur: "It is a thousand times better to be deceived for having trusted than to be able to boast of never having been deceived by having been strict and suspicious" (p. 358). To some others he repeated his opinions on social questions. He told one correspondent: "I am

for the abolition of all castes as they exist today. . . . but I am not in favour of abolition of varnashramadharma which to me is the antithesis of caste" (p. 138). Expounding his idea of prayer to Premabehn Kantak, to whom he wrote at length, he said: "If a drop of water separated from the sea may not pray to the sea, to whom else may it pray? But does the sea have to do anything to answer the prayer? Prayer is the anguished cry of one who cannot bear separation. The embodied soul cannot help uttering such a cry" (p. 164).

Commenting on his seeming inactivity, he assured a correspondent, "I am wide awake even when I am asleep. My sleep is *not* a forgetting, it is a renovating" (p. 403).

How Gandhiji, like a good *advaitin*, regarded *jñāna* as the ultimate value and *karma* as the means to its realization, is clearly seen in his dictum on rebirth: "For a belief in rebirth, it is necessary to believe in the existence of 'I'. If I do not exist and God alone exists, then who is to be reborn and how? This realization itself is rebirth, isn't it? The possibility of rebirth is there only as long as the 'I' exists. When you truly believe . . . that 'God alone exists', then there is no rebirth for you. The man who becomes one with God is liberated" (p. 159). On the human plane, however, Gandhiji did accept the duality of good and evil. "Do you believe in the sun? And if you do, don't you think you must believe in the shadow?"—he asked Mrs. Edith Howe Martyn who had argued that "the divine and the devilish . . . were much more allied than people imagined" (p. 96).



NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text generally spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and interviews, as also passages which are not by Gandhiji, have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews slight changes and omissions, where necessary, have been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication. The writings are placed under the date of publication, except where they carry a date-line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

References to Volume I of this series are to the January 1969 edition.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to documents, M.M.U. to the reels of the Mobile Microfilm Unit and S.G. to the photostats of the Sevagram collection available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are also provided at the end.

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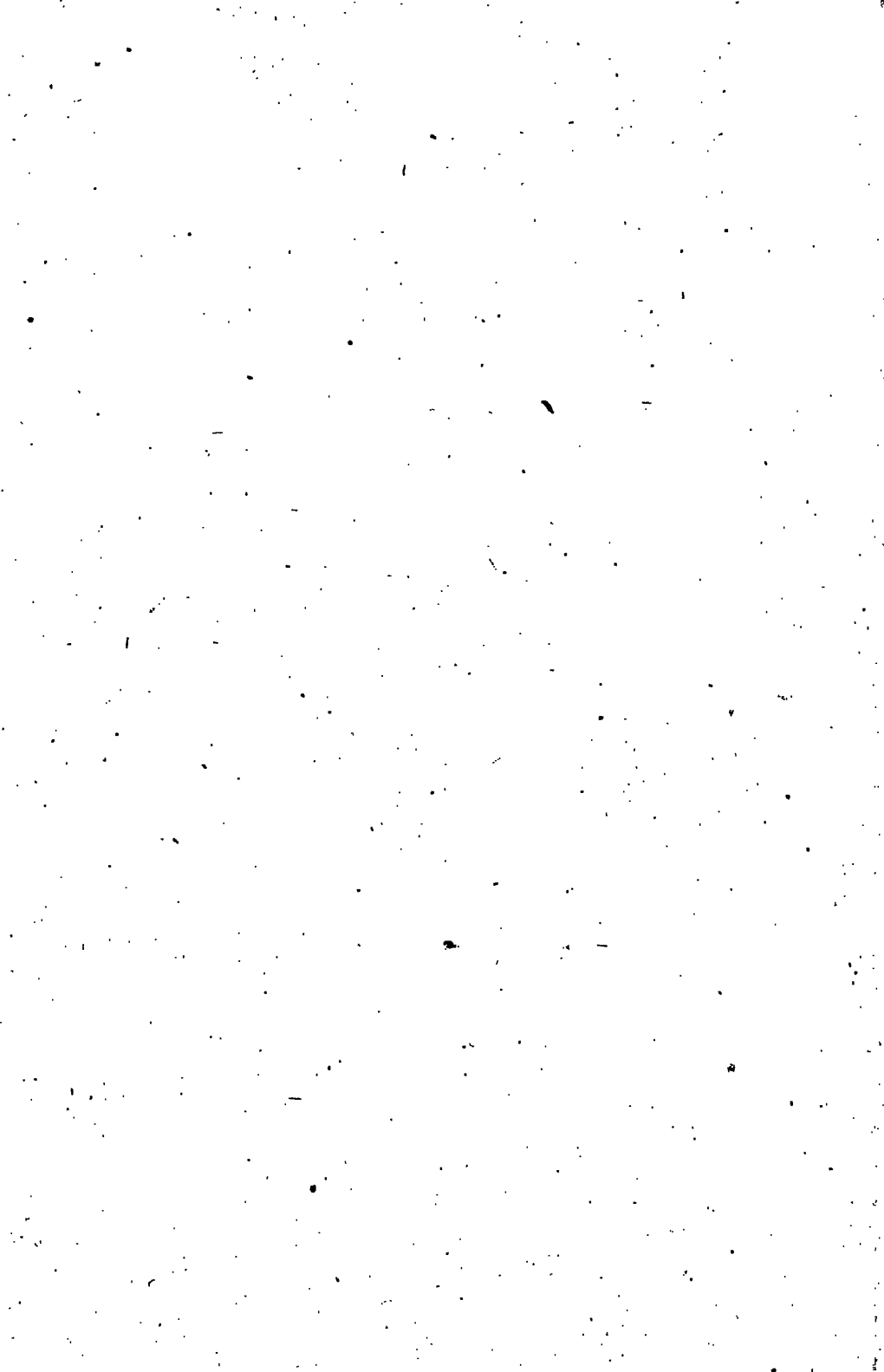
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1. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

December 16, 1934

OHI. PREMA,

Your letters I shall send on to Narandas. Today also I got up at 1.45 a.m. and started writing letters. It has become a habit with me now to wake up at about 2. I go to bed before 9 p.m. During the day, I take a nap once or twice and get half an hour to one hour. That seems to be enough for me.

By writing "not revised" I ensure—and do—justice to myself and to the person to whom the letter is addressed. If by chance I have written "*aa j mar gaya*" instead of "*Ajmer gaya*", the other party may correct the mistake or, in case of doubt, ask me. A letter which has not been revised should always be regarded as incomplete. But I would prefer, and so would you, that I write an incomplete letter to you rather than not write any.

Most probably I shall be going to Delhi on or about the 27th. Continue to write to me at the Wardha address till you hear from me or you read in the papers.

The atonement for any violation of a vow in a dream is generally greater vigilance and Ramanama on waking up from the dream. Such violations of vows or moral rules in dreams are signs of our imperfection. Unconsciously we harbour deep in our hearts the desires which we gratify in dreams. We should not despair because of such dreams, but should become more and more vigilant. Despair may be a sign of the person being attached to the senses; it is certainly a sign of his lack of faith. If a person tires of repeating Ramanama—despairs about its usefulness—shouldn't we say that he has lost faith in it? When Columbus's companions lost faith, they wanted to kill him. But with his eyes of faith Columbus could clearly see the coast and he asked his companions to give him some more time, and he reached America!!! If a person dreams that he is eating forbidden food, such a dream also means what I have explained above. There may be external causes for such dreams and, whenever we discover any, we should remove them. "I am the spotless Brahman that is witness of all the states." This is what we sing. We can sing thus only if we strive ceaselessly to be that. The

dreams that we get are a sign that we have not succeeded in becoming spotless. They are a warning light for us.

Not a leaf can stir without God's grace, but we cannot dispense with human effort either, which is the means through which God's grace works. Realization means nothing but pure and selfless service of all living creatures.

It is very good indeed that Kisan¹ has decided to stay with you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10364. Also C.W. 6803. Courtesy: Premabehn Katak

2. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI G. PATEL

December 16, 1934

CHI, SHIVABHAI,

I got your letter. Give your wife the freedom that you have reserved for yourself. In matters in which both do not agree, each must be free to go his or her own way. She should, therefore, get training for using her freedom well. I see the good of you both in that.

Take the fullest interest in village industries work. And do not forget that khadi is the centre of such work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9513. Also C.W. 429. Courtesy: Shivabhai G. Patel

3. LETTER TO VENILAL A. GANDHI

WARDHA,
December 16, 1934

CHI, VENILAL,

Who are the five members in your family? Give me their ages, etc. I think you should be content with only so much education as the poor can hope to provide their children. Can you

¹ Kisan Ghumatkar

do ordinary reading with your eyes? Do you maintain good health in other ways?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 920. Courtesy: Venilal A. Gandhi

4. LETTER TO LABHUBEHN A. SHETH

December 16, 1934

CHI. LABHU,

If I had included your name in my letter to Amritlal, I would have been made a fool by your letter, wouldn't I? This is the plight of one who leaves the trodden path. Who can tell whether your letter conveys your genuine desire for knowledge or is mere idle prattle? But I want to look great in your eyes, hence I must measure up to your yardstick! If anything, I am at least four times older than you. Am I not?

How can I tell you where you can find steadiness, as though it were some commodity to be bought in a shop? If I were running a grocer's shop here, this being my ancestral business, I would have sent it over to you without your asking for it. You have even sent an advance of one anna. You have wasted your years. Amritlal is no more worthy of being your father because he has failed to show me something that you have within you. But hasn't the poet said, "The dear ones of the embodied soul are all selfish." After all isn't he only your embodied father? The one without a body that is your real Father dwells in your own heart. Know Him and you will not have to spend even an anna. Your learning is illusory if it does not lead you to Him. But if you are learning with this aim, you will be able to secure the release of Khan Saheb¹, Sheikh, Jawahar and the others. But if you want to indulge in idle talk and play as with dolls then you must cast away the idea of greatness you associate with me or humbly confess that you never had genuine thirst for knowledge. Remember in this connection the story of Indra and Virochana. If you don't know it yourself, ask Amritlal and let him also enjoy it and add to your knowledge.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan

5. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

December 17, 1934

DEAR SISTER,

I do hope that your meeting in Karachi¹ will be a full success and that the sisters assembled there will rise above the petty quarrels of men by setting the example of refusing to divide themselves into various groups. Surely religions are not made to set up quarrels among ourselves. I hope too that the meeting will give full support to the activities of the newly-formed Village Industries Association. It is essentially women's work. Let it not be said of the city women that they cared not for their millions of sisters living in the 700,000 villages.

Here is a letter² for Dr. Maude Royden.

Your note has just come in. The cutting is interesting. C.F. Andrews comes in today.

It was a great joy to meet you both. I hope you were physically none the worse for your stay.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

I find that I shall not be in Delhi on 20th as I had intended to be. I am likely to be there between 27th-29th. Having gone there, I am supposed to stay there two weeks at least and four at the most.

M. K. G.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
4A STAFF LINES
KARACHI

From the original: G.W. 3516. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6325

¹ The reference is to the All-India Women's Conference.

² The letter is not traceable.

6. LETTER TO BARINDRA KUMAR GHOSH

December 17, 1934

I have glanced through your book¹. It has proved a severe disappointment. You have lost yourself in the exuberance of your own language. You have missed the spirit of non-co-operation and civil resistance. You have glorified slavery; our vice has become virtue in your estimation. I may not argue with you. Time will show us the true way. What does it matter so long as we pursue the path that seems to us to be right?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

7. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

December 17, 1934

BHAI THAKKAR BAPA,

I got your letter. In my wire² I only asked you to send Rs. 5,000 for research. Didn't I say in it that the budget itself would be passed in Delhi?

Nrisinhaprasad's example must be said to be an excellent one. How many sanatanists like him did you come across in Kathiawar? I have no time to write about other things.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1149

¹ *Wounded Humanity*

² This is not traceable.

8. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

December 17, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I got your letter. I am not surprised that the lawyers did not like Khan Saheb's statement¹. We should be satisfied if our lawyers approved of it. It was the only one which could serve our purpose. The Government is not likely to understand anything at present.

Deenabandhu² is arriving today and we shall know from him what happened.

I think Jamnalalji will leave here on Thursday. Please do stay on there till then at any rate.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhains, pp. 145-6

9. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

December 17, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

I feel apprehensive in writing to you. I got your letter just now. I had written nothing that could have provoked you to write such a letter. How can a son suspect his father? Perhaps I am not worthy of being a true father!

If no one is keeping well in Khurja, why do you stay on there? Go to the Harijan Ashram [Delhi] and live in a separate house there. It will not be very expensive. Or stay in a village here. I cannot put up with your falling ill and continuing to be ill.

Ramdas will not stay with me. He no longer has faith in my treatment though he consults me occasionally. He has given up eggs and takes ordinary diet. Since yesterday he has resumed

¹ In the court during his trial on a charge of sedition; *vide* Vol. LIX, pp. 444-5.

² C. F. Andrews

living with Nimu. He is preparing to go to Bombay, for which he has my permission. He has gained a fair amount of strength and moves about by himself. I am not worried on his account. In the end it will be all right for him.

Amtul left for Bombay the day before yesterday and will probably reach Delhi by the end of this month.

May be I shall be able to go to Delhi only after the 27th.

Your note appeared in last week's *Harijanbandhu* and in this week's *Harijan*. Owing to an oversight it was delayed for a week. As soon as your letter came I sent instructions for a copy of the *Harijan* to be sent to you.

I got a letter today from Dr. Ansari and among other things he writes this about you:

As regards Dr. Sharma, I would like to see him and find out his exact requirements and then I may be able to help him.

It would be good if you went to Delhi. If you wish you may go there after my arrival. You yourself told me that you were responsible for your brothers not writing to me. Can they be so lacking in manners as not even to reply to me? If you have not seen them so far, is it not an instance of your haphazard ways? But if you do not yourself realize this, I can hardly make you see it. I see nothing but lack of coherence in your talk, your actions and your letters. I was under the impression that you were conscious of it. Well, we need not worry about it. All will be well. Your heart is good and my effort is as vigorous as it can be. I always have your good at heart and nothing else. I hope to take much service from you. Ask Draupadi to write to me in detail.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanki Solah Varsha*, between pp. 136 and 137

10. LETTER TO KANTI GANDHI

December 18, 1934

GHI. KANTI,

I have had no letter from you for some time. I should like you to observe some rule. I for my part did reply to your last letter. How are things with you? Ramdas is here at present. He is fairly well. Devdas came and stayed for two days. Lakshmi has gone with Rajaji. Kakasaheb is in Madras. He has gone there to help in the Hindi work. Ba is all right. For the rest, read *Harijan*.

Most probably I shall have to go to Delhi at the end of this month.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7291. Courtesy: Kanti Gandhi

11. LETTER TO JUGALKISHORE BIRLA

December 18, 1934

BHAI JUGALKISHOREJI,

The enclosed letter is for your perusal. If the land required by Kshitishbabu is not of use to you and is not too valuable either, you may give it away to him and take back Rs. 1,500. If, however, it is valuable, I have nothing to say.

You must be reading *Harijan* and *Harijansevak*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 8004. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

12. LETTER TO HATIM ALVI¹

December 19, 1934

Of the many happy memories of the late Maulana, the one that persists most with me, is the gift by him, on the conclusion of my fast of 21 days at Delhi, of a cow as an earnest of his intense desire to see heart-unity among Hindus and Mussalmans.² If he had been with us, he would have raised his voice against the recent deliberate murder of the two Hindus³ who foolishly criticized the Prophet of Islam. Now—alas!—one hears these murders being extolled publicly as if they were meritorious acts.

I wonder whether you and your League have taken any steps to educate the public along the right path.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

13. LETTER TO DR. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

December [19]⁴, 1934

DEAR DR. PATTABHI,

This is village paper. The ink is village-made, and the pen is made of village reed. Do the villagers manufacture paper there? If so, at what price?

I have your full letter. Yes, we must meet. Since you have time, you have to be humble enough to ask for the responsibility you can shoulder — work of the highest order, with or without office, whichever is better for your work. In this service of the destitute, there is no room for ceremony.

¹ The addressee had asked Gandhiji to send a few words of tribute to Mahomed Ali.

² In 1924; *vide* Vol. XXV, p. 226.

³ At Karachi and Lahore

⁴ The source has '29', but in the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary the last paragraph of this letter is entered under December 19, 1934 which appears to be the correct date since Gandhiji left Wardha on December 28.

And this business of rice, flour, *gur*, oil, ghee, etc., is a vast business. You have to revive your knowledge of medicine.

There are two ways of doing the thing — by compulsion through State organization, or voluntary effort, i.e., organized honesty or non-violence . . .¹.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Incidents of Gandhiji's Life, p. 224

14. LETTER TO G. SITARAM SASTRY

[December 19, 1934]²

MY DEAR SASTRY,

I do hope that the Jayanti function will be a success and that it will result on the one hand in a greater appreciation of your effort by the public and on the other in a greater devotion to their duty by the workers.

You will see the . . .³ papers.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI SITARAM SASTRY
VINAYA ASHRAM, KALYANAKAVOOR
CHANDOLE P. O., GUNTUR DIST.

From a copy: C.W. 9176. Courtesy: G. Sitaram Sastry

15. BYE-LAWS OF THE ALL-INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

[Before December 20, 1934]⁴

(1) The ordinary general meeting of the Association shall be held once every year, and at any time an extraordinary meeting may be convened by the Secretary with the consent of the President, and shall be convened upon a requisition being received by

¹ Omission as in the source

² From the postmark

³ Omission as in the source

⁴ The rules framed under bye-law 10 were issued to the Press on his date.

him from not less than one-sixth of the members on the roll. One-fifth the number of members on the roll, with a minimum of seven, shall form a quorum.

(2) The first financial year of the Association shall be from the 14th December, 1934 to 31st December, 1935, and thereafter the calendar year.

(3) Meetings of the Board of Management may be summoned by the Secretary, as and when necessary, or when required to do so by one-third the number of members on the Board.

The Secretary may circulate a proposition amongst the members of the Board, and when all the members have agreed to it, such shall have the force of a resolution passed at a meeting of the Board.

For a meeting of the Board of Management one-third the number of members, with a minimum of four, shall be the quorum.

Any member of the Board of Management who is absent at three consecutive meetings without leave shall be deemed to have vacated his office.

(4) Proper records shall be kept by the Secretary of all proceedings of the general meetings and the Board meetings, with the attendance of the members there, and such minutes shall be signed by the President at the meeting at which they are confirmed.

(5) This Association shall not be responsible for any obligation, financial or other, entered into by any person without written authority signed by a person duly authorized thereto on behalf of the Association.

(6) The Board of Management shall have power to remove any member from the roll by a resolution of the Board passed by at least three-fourths of the number of members on the Board at a meeting, of which due notice had been given and this matter had been placed on the agenda.

(7) Every member shall send to the Secretary a report of the allotted work done by him for every quarter so as to reach the Central Office not later than one month after the expiry of that quarter.

If no reports are received for three consecutive quarters from any member, such member will cease to be a member and vacate his office, if any.

(8) Institutions which undertake to abide by the rules and regulations laid down by the Board of Management for affiliation may be on application affiliated by the Secretary.

(9) It shall be competent for the Board to issue certificates to

persons who may be prepared to deal in village manufactures coming within the province of the Association.

(10) The duties of agents may be prescribed by the Board from time to time.¹

AGENTS' DUTIES

The Board of Management has framed a set of rules defining the duties of agents under bye-law No. 10. They are as follows:

(1) To begin with, the agent will be expected to attend to the programme already drawn up by the Central Office. After he has made a fair start with the Central Office programme, he will be expected to make a survey of all such industries that may be revived, improved or introduced in his area and shall forthwith report to the Central Office results of his investigations and submit a programme of work based thereon for examination by the Office.

(2) Every agent will be expected to attend to the sanitation and hygiene of the villages within his area.

(3) With a view to finding markets for the surplus products of the villages, he should induce reliable merchants to store village products for sale, at prices mutually fixed between the merchants and the agent and so as to ensure the genuineness of such products.

(4) He should carry on an intensive propaganda to create a favourable public opinion for the programme in his area.

(5) He may invite and receive subscriptions and donations to meet the expenses in connection with his work and should not expect any financial aid from the Central Office. But he shall not utilize any part of the funds so collected by him for his own personal requirements.

(6) He may appoint, whenever necessary, and if funds at his disposal permit, paid workers needed for his work.

(7) He shall keep accurate accounts of all receipts and disbursements, which will be subject to audit by the Central Office.

(8) His work will be subject to the inspection and supervision of the Central Office.

(9) He shall submit a report of his work and an abstract of receipts and payments for every month so as to reach the Central Office not later than the 15th of the month following.

¹ What follows was also issued in a statement to the Press.

(10) Any neglect in submitting the monthly report and statement of accounts, or in carrying out instructions from the Central Office, will involve cancellation of the agency.

I have the names of some workers who have volunteered to act as agents for the Association. I would like those whose names I have already got and others to send in their names to Sjt. Kumarappa at Wardha, with sufficient details, so as to enable the Board to make its choice. The chief thing to bear in mind is that no one should take charge of more villages than he can manage, with or without the help of co-workers whom he has to find, and that the Board is to undertake no financial responsibility. It is felt that the Board can never cover all the seven hundred thousand villages of India, if it is to employ paid agency. It has started work with the belief that there are self-sacrificing men and women enough who realize the necessity of serving the villages, which have remained long neglected, though everyone knows that city life would be impossible if there were no villages to serve them.

Harijan, 28-12-1934

16. LETTER TO AGATHA HARRISON

December 20, 1934

MY DEAR AGATHA,

I have your doleful letter. The situation does not disturb us here as much as it disturbs you. The thing is you do not know Sir Samuel Hoare. The Indian Government has always been a one-man rule. Sir Samuel Hoare's philosophy demands that Indian wishes should not be consulted, much less respected, except when they reflect those of his advisers. The latter have made up their minds that the White Paper¹, now the J. P. C.² Report, is the last word. The Congress has decided that nothing is acceptable unless its wishes are taken into account. The Congress also recognizes that Sir Samuel holds the power and that the Congress must not use the little power that it has got. Therefore you friends on your side should, if you can, resolutely say

¹ Embodying the British Government's proposals for reforms based on the discussions at the Round Table Conferences in 1931-2

² Joint Parliamentary Committee which examined the White Paper and endorsed its proposals with some modifications

that the existing state should remain till time has arrived for a change by consent of the 'governed'. Not that even your effort will succeed. But you will at least have the satisfaction of knowing that you had done the right thing. If, on the other hand, the friends over there think that they cannot conscientiously take up that attitude and that they must accept the Report if it cannot be changed, you must prosecute that plan. If I were they, I should sit silent, since I could not represent the Indian view. The friends at least may be no party directly or indirectly to 'imposing' by force a constitution on India, which would be the case if the constitution is passed. Read Chintamani's warning enclosed. Not that it means much. The Home Member was quite clear on the point. But his being clear was a cruel reminder of India's present helplessness.

My case is pending. There also the story is the same. They have made up their minds. But I may not anticipate. C.F. Andrews is in Calcutta. He is fighting like a Trojan against the heaviest odds and he will presently give you all the latest news. Meanwhile you and other friends should rest assured that I shall take no hasty step. Ample warning will be given of my intentions. But what are my intentions worth! Man proposes, God disposes. Let His will be done, not mine, nor yours.

I have no time to tell you the story about the paper or the ink or the pen in which and with which this is written.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1483

17. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

December 20, 1934

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I have your letter. I see from the newspapers that there is again some trouble. I shall look into the scheme of Hindi Vidya-pith when I get it.

Correspondence courses have been introduced in the Mahila Ashram. I wish, if I may, to include your name among the teachers to be appointed for it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 6081. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

18. EXPANSION OF "HARIJAN"

Some readers have taken exception to the way in which the columns of *Harijan* are being occupied with the development of the village industries scheme, and some others have welcomed the change in what they had thought was monotony of presentation. Either opinion is probably hasty. Any problem connected with the welfare of villages as a whole must be intimately related to the Harijans, who represent over a sixth part of India's population. If villages get good rice and flour, Harijans will benefit by the change as much as the rest of the population. But there is a special sense in which Harijans will benefit. Tanning and the whole of the raw hide work is their monopoly, and economically this will occupy perhaps the best part of the new scheme. Indeed, Harijans, in so far as they have given their opinion, have welcomed the expansion. Those who were tired of monotony were also in my opinion wrong. The pages of *Harijan* could not be filled with matters that had no connection, direct or indirect, with those in whose interest it was being published. Those who complained of monotony were perhaps not sufficiently interested in the cause.

No doubt it would be true criticism if I were told that the columns of *Harijan* were not as interesting as they might be made. There are causes for this which are inherent in the movement itself. It must be confessed that removal of untouchability is not a popular cause in the sense in which great political movements have been and become popular all over the world. Removal of untouchability is a mighty social reform. But it cannot furnish sensations. It is a plodder's work. And record of the work of plodders requires editorial gifts of a high order to make it interesting. Plodders can only attract plodding editors. Therefore, the only way before those who are intimately connected with the Harijan movement is to continue to work with an ever increasing faith in the cause and leave the result to take care of itself.

A little time ago there appeared in the Press a paragraph that the Gujarati edition of *Harijan* known as *Harijanbandhu* was about to be stopped, because it was being run at a loss. The news was premature and unauthorized. There was indeed a talk about it. But when Thakkar Bapa heard of it, he soon smashed

it by saying that none of the three editions, Hindi, Gujarati and English, could be stopped. The remedies available for avoiding losses on these weeklies are three:

- (1) Raising of subscription;
- (2) Voluntary reduction by the printing and editorial staff in the remuneration they receive for their labours;
- (3) An appeal for increase in the number of subscribers.

The second remedy has been, and is still being, tried. Reduction in the expense of publishing the papers is being steadily pursued. There is limitless scope for increase in the number of subscribers. And now that village industries and general village uplift is to occupy a fair portion of *Harijan*, there should be an automatic increase in the number of subscribers.

Harijan, 21-12-1934

19. THE NEW BABY

The much-talked-of All-India Village Industries Association was born amid calm surroundings and without any fuss or ceremony on the 14th instant at Wardha, which will be its headquarters by reason of the munificence of Sheth Jamnalalji, who has set apart ample ground with buildings for the use of the Association. Of this, however, hereafter.

Let us make the acquaintance of the foundation members who are the first Board of Management. Shri Shrikishnadas Jajooji, the President, is a lawyer who had a distinguished career during his school and college days. He left a lucrative practice long ago. He has been identified with the philanthropic activities of Sheth Jamnalalji and is the President of the All-India Spinners' Association, Maharashtra Branch.

Shri Kumarappa, the Organizer and Secretary, is a Chartered Accountant, who years ago left a growing practice in Bombay and took up under Kakasaheb Kalelkar honorary appointment as Professor at the Gujarat Vidyapith. He served, with Sjts. Bhulabhai Desai and D. N. Bahadurji, ex-Advocate Generals, on the Public Debts Committee appointed by the Congress, and has been the financial adviser of the Bihar Central Relief Committee.

Shri Gosibehn Captain is one of the four indefatigable Nao-roji sisters who have for years been completely identified with khadi and been responsible for conducting khadi embroidery classes for poor girls in Bombay started by Shri Mithubehn Petit, who has dedicated herself to the service of the poor in the villages of Gujarat.

Sheth Shoorji Vallabhdas is a well-known merchant of Bombay. He has been organizing khadi centres and has brought into being the Swadeshi Bazaar, of which the dividend, if any, is to be devoted solely to the promotion of village industries.

Dr. Khan Saheb (ex-I. M. S.) is the elder brother of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. He takes the place of his brother who, but for his incarceration, would have been a member of the Board.

Shri Lakshmidas Purushottam was a well-known merchant in Malabar before he gave up his business to join the Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmati. It was he who organized khadi in Gujarat, became the right-hand man of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel during the terrible floods of Gujarat in the year 1927 and has been likewise to Rajendrababu in the earthquake relief work in Bihar.

Dr. Profulla Ghosh (D.Sc.) is among the favourite early pupils of Dr. P. C. Ray, who, leaving a high post at the Government Mint, has for years been living on a mere pittance and has devoted his life to public service.

Shri Shankerlal Banker (M.A.) studied advanced chemistry in England and on return entered public life in 1916. He is the Secretary and soul of the All-India Spinners' Association and possesses an all-round knowledge of khadi and, therefore, of the condition of villages, possessed, perhaps, by no one in the same extensive manner as he does.

Thus, with the exception of Sheth Shoorjibhai, the Board contains members who have no private finance or business to look after and whose sole concern would be in one way or another to consult the welfare of the villagers in everything they do. They are all on the Board solely to shoulder the tremendous responsibility of striving to carry out the object of the Association. The reader will study the simple constitution of the Association.¹ If it is assisted by the public in a tangible manner, it will give hope to the millions of villagers; it will turn the city-dwellers, who are today their exploiters, into real helpers and servants; it will establish a living link between the intelligentsia and the illiterate masses; it will be instrumental in abolishing all distinctions between man and man, and it will turn the villagers from being mere creators of raw produce, which they have practically become, into self-sustained units and caterers for most of the requirements of city-dwellers. In a task such as this, naturally political differences are sunk, all who will assist

¹ *Vide* Vol. LIX, "A.I.V.I.A.—Object and Constitution", 14-12-1934.

are invited to join as members, agents, workers, associates or advisers, according to their wishes and capacity.

The task is tremendous. Nothing but Divine Grace can fulfil the expectations raised about the work of the Association. And Divine Grace only attends intelligent, tireless effort. The members of the Board are pledged to such effort. Their past record is an earnest of the future.

The Association, though it is a creation of the Congress, has been deliberately made non-political and autonomous. Its members are pledged, whilst they remain such, to abstain from any campaign of civil disobedience. As its adviser and guide, I can say that the Association has no further aim than that of bringing about the economic, physical and moral betterment of the villagers.

The reader will observe that the work of the Board of Management is to be done through honorary agents, at least in the first instance. The agents have to select their own areas of operation, and they will be expected to confine themselves to, and to concentrate their attention on, those areas only. There may thus be an agent even for one single village. The Association may, therefore, have as many agents as there are villages in India. Therefore, no honest person, however humble, need be deterred from offering his or her services. The idea is to decentralize the work as much as possible. Thus alone can intensive work be done with the utmost economy consistent with efficiency. I hope that willing and honest workers will be found all over the country to take part in this glorious work of voluntary village reconstruction.

Harijan, 21-12-1934

20. LETTER TO JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

December 21, 1934

I have your very kind and full letter. Yes, Mirabehn did extraordinarily well both in Great Britain and America. Truth gives a power that nothing else can. And Mira wanted to express through her speech nothing but what she believed to be the whole truth. She will certainly come to you whenever she feels the call.

As for me I have no call at all. I feel that my work lies here and I can best speak to the world through my work in India.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

21. LETTER TO AN ITALIAN

December 21, 1934

The interior signification of truth for me is that it gives me a peace which passeth understanding. The exterior consists in rendering me a fitter instrument of service.

The value of missionary effort lies, in my opinion, in their having roused in us the spirit of inquiry and in inducing heart-searching.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

22. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

December 21, 1934

BHAI MUNSHI,

Do take proper rest. In my view Khan Saheb is a real *bhakta*.

I have nearly finished your last chapter¹. The other chapters I will read now. For whose benefit did you write all this in English? I do not know if you have explained your aim in the earlier chapters.

Please do not expect a long foreword from me.

Blessings to you both from
BAPU

ADVOCATE K. M. MUNSHI
PANGHGANI

From Gujarati: C.W. 7565. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

¹ Of Gujarat and Its Literature

23. LETTER TO ANNAPURNA

December 21, 1934

CHI. ANNAPURNA,

I had your letter. Find out the count, evenness and strength of the yarn spun by the villagers. Get the weaving done soon. Do not neglect their other occupations. What kind of rice [polished or unpolished,] do they eat? Sow some seeds of cotton and leafy vegetables in your courtyard. It is better for one to do one's own manual work, as far as possible.

All are well, I hope.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2784

24. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

December 21, 1934

CHI. AMBUJAM¹,

I have your letter and also Father's. You have given me no trouble at all. You had and you will always have the right to tell me everything. Indeed how can I help you if you do not tell me all without any reservations?

Now please steady your mind and do what service you can.

Some hand-made paper has been sent for you. It is rather expensive; the bill will be sent to you. It will be paid here; some money belonging to you is lying here, is it not?

Do not give up your study of the *Ramayana*.

Keep writing to me.

Janammal² should write to me.

Let me know if you had any difficulty in reading this.

Keep your parents happy.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 9598. Courtesy: S. Ambujammal

¹ Daughter of Srinivasa Iyengar

² Addressee's niece

25. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

December 22, 1934

DEAR SISTER,

I read your draft resolutions only last night. They were received at noon. I like the first. The last I like the least. I hope you duly received my letter containing my message¹ and a letter to Dr. Maude.

You must not overstrain yourself. I take it the Colonel accompanies you wherever you go. He should receive the reply by now.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3517. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6326

26. LETTER TO HOMI MODY

December 22, 1934

DEAR MR. MODY,

I thank you for your letter of 19th instant about blankets sent to Assam.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 4881. Courtesy: M. R. Masani

¹ For the All-India Women's Conference; *vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", p. 4.

27. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

December 22, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Why is there no news from you yet about the condition of your ear? Kishorelal and Gomati are laid up with illness. Gomati is better now. Kishorelal still has a temperature. It is coming down, however. Preparations are under way for shifting the Industries Association to the garden. It has been planned to add two rooms on the top of the building. Radhakisan had suggested one. Now they are thinking of two. The plan involves an expenditure of about Rs. 2,000. It is not absolutely necessary of course to build the rooms. They will be useful mostly during the monsoon. During day-time I can remain on the ground floor. But at night I would certainly go up to sleep. These rooms should be built only in view of their usefulness for the future. Since the suggestion was made, I was tempted to give my consent. If you refuse yours, the matter will end and Rs. 2,000 will be saved. You know that the money is no longer yours. As I write this, I feel that I myself ought to be firm and forbid the construction of the rooms for the present at any rate. I will do so. Please treat as cancelled what I have written above.

Krishna has written again on behalf of Sarup Rani gently requesting that Prabha be sent over. I have replied¹ that she is entrusted with such duties here that she cannot be easily spared, but that some other good woman from there can be sent. I think we can find somebody who will be a suitable companion for her. If you can, help Sarup Rani. Otherwise you may leave the matter to me.

Blessings from
BAFU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2947

¹ This letter is not traceable.

28. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

December 22, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

It is difficult to restrain brother Charlie¹. If a person like him does some harm, I think we should suffer it. But I am vigilant. I have spoken frankly to him. Please do not worry on this account. People also have realized that his comings and goings signify nothing.

Kripalani's case is different. He didn't do well also in relieving Rajaram.² I don't think that Krishnadas will be able to do justice to the work. But I don't know all the facts of the case. Why don't you write to Kripalani? I have not read his statements. Has he said anything indiscreet in them? If he has, I also may write to him. If I write, he will immediately correct himself.

The way you controlled that meeting³ was perfect. Personally I liked your speech very much. It was very necessary to tell the people all that.

For the present Ramdas will go to Bombay. He will leave with Swami on the 27th or the 28th. He will stay in Mani-bhuvan.

Why should we feel sorry about what Muslim friends do? We should do our own duty. I wrote to Maulana and to Dr. Ansari⁴ about the murders in Sind and Lahore. I have received their replies in which they tell me that they will try to do something. It is an extremely difficult problem. Since our outlooks are completely different, we have no option but to endure things. We should be satisfied if we do the best we can.

I shall leave this place on the 28th for Delhi. At the most I shall stay there one month. The meeting of the Village Industries Association has been fixed for January 31. I am sure you will come to Delhi. It will be convenient if the Working Com-

¹ C. F. Andrews

² From the post of the paid secretary of the A. I. C. C.

³ To protest against the sentence of two years' imprisonment given to Abdul Ghaffar Khan on a charge of sedition; *vide* Vol. LIX, p. 429.

⁴ The letters are not traceable.

mittee meeting is fixed around 15th January. I should like to come away from Delhi as early as possible.

How is Abhyankar? What did you do about your nose?

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhains, pp. 146-9

29. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

December 22, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

I am not pained by your fast¹. You will come through it safely. Tell me at Delhi about its conclusion. I shall be there on the 29th. Tell me your experiences too during the fast.

It will be a big achievement if Krishna recovers her health.

My papers are still untraced.

I have no knowledge of any newspaper reproducing the notice.

Ramdas will write to you. He has no peace of mind here. Now he observes no restrictions on food.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanki Solah Varsha*, facing p. 138

30. LETTER TO MIRZA ISMAIL

December 23, 1934

With regard to the visit to the Frontier Province I hope you saw the statement I issued to the Press.² I shall strain every nerve to avoid a clash. With me it is not a matter of sacrificing anything for anything else. Is not the vast meaning of sacrifice self-purification? So long as my submission to the Viceregal will does not harm the cause it shall continue. You may depend upon it that I shall take no hasty step.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

¹ The addressee had undertaken a fourteen days' fast.

² *Vide* Vol. LIX, pp. 442-3.

31. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

December 23, 1934

GHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. Harakhchand and Vijaya passed through here today. Kanu¹ met them at the station.

You must have observed that Jamna² is not happy at the thought of your leaving the place. It is for you to decide. If your presence there is essential, then I would not think at all of drawing you away from there. I once put this question to you. Think over it again if necessary.

Ramdas is very eager that his two children should secure admission to an infant school somewhere. If that is done, Nimu should stay with them. Ramdas thinks that Bhavnagar will suit very well. But, then, where would Nimu stay in Bhavnagar? What would happen if any of them was taken ill? I, therefore, have advised him to send the children to Rajkot and the idea has appealed to Nimu. I have told him that the Bal Mandir there will continue to run whether or not you remain. Am I right? Send me a report about its affairs and let me know whether you would advise Nimu to bring the children there. Address the reply to me at Birla Mills, Delhi. Drop a brief note to Nimu as well. I think Ramdas must have gone to Bombay. He cannot be said to have fully recovered yet. He is following a treatment of his own choice at present. He can move about a little. Nimu also wants to learn. She is taking lessons in playing on the sitar and learning English. I have told her that it can be done even there.

A letter for Aunt³ is enclosed. She has lived to a ripe old age indeed.

Blessings from
BAFU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I. Also C.W. 8426. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

¹ Addressee's son

² Addressee's wife

³ Raliatbehn, Gandhiji's elder sister; the letter is not available.

32. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

December 23, 1934

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

You must have seen the mill-owners' resolutions. See that they don't quarrel among themselves. If any of them listen to you, advise them. I have written to Kasturbhai and Chamanbhai.

I do hope that wherever you go you will tell the people about the Village Industries Association. It has great potentialities.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhai, p. 150

33. LETTER TO VENILAL A. GANDHI

December 23, 1934

GHI. VENILAL,

I think your problem is a difficult one. Your minimum need will be Rs. 50. I think it will be difficult to pay so much from the funds which are for Harijan work. I am of the view that grown-up children should be permitted to study in accordance with their wishes. You have, therefore, no choice but to find out some business. Please do not expect any help from me.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. VENILAL GANDEI
C/O MANEKLAL AMRITLAL GANDEI
RANAVAV
PORBANDAR STATE, KATHIAWAR

From Gujarati: C.W. 921. Courtesy: Venilal A. Gandhi

34. LETTER TO DR. JAMES HENRY COUSINS¹

December 24, 1934

DEAR FRIEND,

Surely the friends have perpetrated a joke. I am no representative of the domain of literature. I have no University qualifications. I cannot write after my name even a "a failed B. A.", having never gone beyond the London Matriculation. Nor can I call myself a literary man by training. I am no judge of prose, much less of poetry. Some of the latter I cannot understand. My ignorance is really appalling in the domain of literature. I had therefore to send you a negative telegram² which I hope you received in time. Though therefore I cannot propose your name, I can at least hope that you will win the prize.

With greetings of the season and regards to you and Mrs. Cousins.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

35. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

December 24, 1934

DEAR SISTER,

I have your several letters. My prayers are certainly with you in your noble endeavour.

C. F. Andrews should be here on 26th.

Here is the message duly signed.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3518. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6927

¹ The addressee had requested Gandhiji to recommend his name for the Nobel Prize.

² The telegram is not traceable.

36. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

December 24, 1934

DEAR DAUGHTER,¹

You have kept me in great anxiety by not writing earlier. But you will not be you if you did otherwise. Thank God however that I have your card and letter received yesterday. All well here. Lali² is playing in Bombay. Mehr³ is here studying a little and playing. She seems to be happy. We leave for Delhi on 28th.

Hope you are eating well. No more today.
Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 312

37. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

December 24, 1934

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I got your letter regarding Gangadharrao. It is a difficult matter. I don't think we can give money in this manner. I can't give my final decision, however, without discussing the matter with Gangadharrao. I am writing to him. I will say this same thing in my letter.

I am returning with this Gangadharrao's letter.

Get your ear completely cured.

I suppose you know about the plan to let Kamalnayan go to Colombo.

I have told Khan Saheb about Abdul Ghani⁴. He will write to the latter. He has offered to pay all the expenses himself. He has called Ghani to Delhi for treatment of his tonsils, but it is not certain whether Khan Saheb himself will be able to go. He has been prohibited from entering even the Punjab. The

¹ This is in Urdu.

² & ⁴ Abdul Ghaffar Khan's sons

³ Mehrtaj, Abdul Ghaffar Khan's daughter

question is whether he can pass through the stations inside the Punjab boundary on his way to Delhi. He has sent a wire to the Punjab Government.

*Blessings from
BAPU*

[PS.]

If Madanmohan is there, please ask him to write to me and give me an account of his experiences in the Frontier Province. He could get no opportunity at all to talk with me.

A wire has been received today saying that the order¹ has been withdrawn.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2948

38. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

December 24, 1934

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I have had no letter from you, though it is time I had one. I hope all of you are well.

You will now be having a new Agent². Let us wait and see whether he proves his worth.

Did your Diwali number sell more copies?

Ramdas is getting on fairly well. Should I assume that you will not be able to send a permit?

I am going to Delhi for a month at the most. I will leave this place on the 28th. Ba will accompany me.

I am getting ready for jail. But it will be some time yet. It won't happen before February.

Have you met Rees Jones? He is a very good man. He was here for a few days.

Lakshmi has gone to Madras with Rajaji. Devdas is getting along very well.

Kishorelal and Gomati were bed-ridden for two or three days. They are better now. There is nothing to worry about.

I have been keeping good health. For the past three months, I have been taking fresh milk, uncooked vegetables and fruit. Hot drinks include only warm water with honey or heated sugar-cane juice. This regimen has had no ill effect at all.

¹ Prohibiting Khan Sahab from entering the Punjab

² Syed Raza Ali.

What crops do you currently raise in the fields there? What is the total number of residents? Are all the buildings being used?

How is Sam?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4829

39. LETTER TO SAHEBJI MAHARAJ

December 25, 1934

DEAR SAHEBJI MAHARAJ,

Your prompt and full reply came in yesterday with the stainless steel nibs. They give me pleasure and pride. I shall try them. But my soul just now resides in the villages. The paper on which I am writing is village-made and so is the reed village-grown from which my pen is made. Economic laws like many others appear to be of two kinds, good and bad. Good laws should be good for all. Just now men, like the cows, seem to be a burden on the land. Do the majority need to die, so that the few city people may live? My humble attempt is to show that the villagers do not need to die and that they have an inherent capacity to live if they would but shed their laziness and make a corporate effort to live. City people have no such inherent capacity. Hence like Genghis they have to produce human hecatombs.

You will forgive me for arguing with you. I do, because I want to discover the flaw, if there is one, in my method of approaching the common object—all-round happiness.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2160

40. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

December 25, 1934

MY DEAR ANAND,

Father has just seen me. He has decided to work for the A.I.V.I.A. He is full of hope. He offers to build for you a floor over the present house wherein you can live your own independent life, and wishes to support you too. I want you to accept the proposal. I hope you will take care of yourself and be thoroughly restored. Vidya must write. No more just now.

Love to you both.

BAPU

SHRI ANAND HINGORANI
C/o A. S. BHAGCHAND KEWALRAMANI
COSMOPOLITAN VISHIN COTTAGE COLONY
SAROJINI NAIDU ROAD
SUKKUR (SIND)

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

41. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

December 26, 1934

OHI. JAMNALAL,

Please do not insist on the construction of the two rooms just now. I have refused my consent after thinking about the matter very carefully. Isn't all your money a Trust now? It will continue to yield sufficient income only if we save every pie that we can. This is true whether the property belongs to a private firm or to a Trust for the poor. In fact, we should exercise more care in the case of the latter. I have not been able to prepare a draft for the Maganlal Memorial. Most probably I shall draw up one.

I shall be very happy if nothing happens to Abhyankar. Tell him when you meet him that I frequently think of him.

Khan Saheb is going to Delhi with me. Mehr too will be there. She also is doing well. At present Anand's father and Vaikunth Mehta are here. The latter has returned after a world tour. He will take great interest in the Industries Association.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2949

42. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

December 26, 1934

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI,

I got your letter.

I have written to Gangadharrao. Jamnalal had sent me his letter. I was not convinced by his argument. I have, therefore, asked him to come to Delhi. How long can we go on meeting the deficit in this manner? And from whom are we to beg the money?

You must have read Brelvi's article about the murders in Karachi and Lahore. I will see now what can be done in Delhi.

There was a letter from Andrews. He is hopeful. He is expected today. I don't think his being hopeful means anything.

Dr. Khan Saheb was served an order by the Punjab Government too. But he had to go to Delhi. So he asked me what he should do, since he would have to pass through the Punjab on his way. I, therefore, sent a wire to the Punjab Government asking whether the order also covered the railway stations. A reply to that has been received saying that the order was being withdrawn with effect from the 28th. And the Frontier order is expiring on the 29th in the natural course. If, therefore, they don't renew it, Khan Saheb will be able to enter the Frontier Province also. Mehr, as has already been arranged, is coming along with me. She will have no company—except mine, of course.

Vaikunth Mehta is here in connection with the Village Industries Association. He will stay for two more days yet.

I understand what you say regarding the nose. Since the doctors forbid you, we are helpless.

Be quite firm about the constructive work. If the people do not overcome their lethargy and attend to the essential tasks,

there will be no satyagraha movement and no swaraj. We must learn mutual co-operation.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhai, pp. 150-1

43. VILLAGERS' HANDS

Dr. Ansari's is the latest reasoned opinion received on unpolished rice, whole wheatmeal and *gur*. I share it with the readers. The same kind of categorical replies have been received also from other eminent medical men. A digest of these is being prepared by Sjt. Kumarappa and will be duly published in these columns. Meanwhile let workers and others ponder over the following:¹

... In the process of polishing rice, all outer coverings of the grain are removed, consisting of the husk as well as the pigmented covering containing Vitamin B, fat and protein, which are necessary for health and growth. It has been proved that the absence of Vitamin B from polished rice has been instrumental in causing beri-beri. Unpolished rice, on the other hand, not being subjected to the boiling process used in polishing rice in the mills, retains Vitamin B as well as the protein, fat and mineral matter. . . .

... The wheat grain consists of bran or outer envelope, mainly composed of cellulose, the kernel consisting of starch and the germ consisting of soluble starch, protein and some fat. . . .

In the process of milling, the germ and the bran are rejected, and with it undoubtedly are discarded some of the most useful chemical constituents of the wheat, for with the germ a considerable amount of protein and fat are lost, and with the bran are lost mineral matter as well as some protein. . . .

Gur, jaggery or molasses is produced as by-product in the manufacture of crystallized sugar. . . . *Gur*, consisting of cane-sugar and fruit-sugar in the proportion of 2 to 1, would be assimilated more rapidly than cane-sugar alone taken in the same quantity. Therefore, the nutritive value of *gur* is at least 33 p.c. superior to refined sugar.

The truth of the opinion can be tested by everybody for himself by trying pure *gur*, *chakki-ground* whole wheatmeal and hand-pounded unpolished rice.

Harijan, 28-12-1934

¹ Only extracts are reproduced here.

44. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

BIRLA MILLS, DELHI,
December 29, 1934

CHI. SHARMA,

Your fast should be completed today. Give me a full account soon. I reached here this morning.

Ramdas has gone to Deolali with Swami and will proceed from there to Bombay.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, facing p. 140

45. A MESSAGE

December 29, 1934

The thought of Hindu-Muslim unity filled the whole being of Hakim Saheb. As we remember him today the best thing would be to cleanse our hearts and make all the effort we can to strengthen this unity.

M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Dillika Rajanaitik Itihas*, Part II, p. 213

46. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

December 29, 1934

Mahatma Gandhi said that he hoped to leave Delhi on January 28, 1935, as he must be at Wardha positively on the 29th. His work here is primarily concerned with Harijan uplift in this area, and also the promotion of village industries nearabouts.

He wished to make it perfectly clear that his visit had no connection with the work in the new Assembly, which begins on January 21. It was by pure accident that the Assembly work of Congressmen commences at a time when Mahatma Gandhi is here in connection with Harijan and village uplift work.

Questioned about his proposal to visit the Frontier in view of the Viceroy's advice against it, Mahatma Gandhi said:

It is beyond me and I have nothing to say at present.

The Hindustan Times, 30-12-1934

47. DISCUSSION AT HARIJAN HOME, KINGSWAY CAMP, DELHI¹

[December 29, 1934]²

[GANDEHJI:] Is this the hut that I was told was being hurriedly erected for me? Why this height of 16 feet, and these heavy pillars and this high plinth? A simple cutcha hut with grass-thatched roof was the one I had in mind and had expected to find here. It should not have cost more than Rs. 500, whereas this has cost Rs. 2,500.

[MALKANI:] The thing had to be hurriedly arranged. We have not had more than two rooms, we thought we should have a small terrace where we could have a little shamiana and where you might get plenty of sun and privacy as well. We went in for iron beams and rafters, as wooden ones would have taken much time.

[G.] No excuse at all. If you knew that this thing was going to cost so much, why did you not give up the idea altogether? I should have been perfectly comfortable in a tent. The pity is that you forgot that you were the representative of Harijans and villagers. You acted as Sjt. Ghanshyamdas's representative. If you had engaged some villagers to put up a genuine, *bona-fide* village hut, you would have had a sample of the work that our villagers can still do, and it would have conformed to our standard. And why this spiral staircase? You might easily have procured a wooden staircase!

[M.] No Bapu, it has been borrowed and will be returned as soon as we do not need it.

... In the evening, to cap the tale of our woe, came a newly-bought spittoon, and it was placed on his table by an unwary friend. That was the signal for a final explosion.

[G.] Who ordered this and why was it purchased?

¹ Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Not Hut but a Palace"

² On this date Gandhiji arrived at the Harijan Home.

[BRIJERBENA:] I had asked for one. I thought it would be borrowed.

[G.] But did you not also know that if it could not be immediately borrowed, the friends in the town were sure to purchase it?

[B.] I knew, but I had not thought that a thing costing a rupee and a half would be purchased. I should have gone in for one costing four annas or so.

[G.] And you would not have minded four annas! Well, send this back at once. I should be satisfied with a small earthen cup which costs almost nothing. I thought you would instinctively understand these things. Well, now let me tell you that if anything is purchased without my permission, I might be driven to non-co-operation with you.

. . . It was bed-time. Beds were being brought, and immediately Gandhiji said:

No bedstead necessary. The cotton mattress over the mat is quite enough. Not that I should not use it if health made it imperative, but I should do without it as long as I could.

But, Babu, even the poorest villagers have got their *charpais*.

[G.] I know, I know. Does that mean that we should imitate them in that convenient matter, when we cannot possibly imitate them in other things? If we cannot live like them, must have better food and better clothing, let us at least have the poor consolation of doing without a bedstead.

Harijan, 11-1-1935

48. SPEECH AT HARIJAN INDUSTRIES EXHIBITION, DELHI.

December 30, 1934

Crores of women who can spin and weave are starving at present. We should wear khadi so that they may get a piece of bread, if nothing more. We regard it as a matter of dharma to treat crores of Harijans as untouchables. By boycotting Chamars, Dheds, etc., we alienate them from our culture. No industry or profession through which one tries to earn an honest livelihood, can be regarded as degrading. It will be impossible to protect the cow if we do not win over the Harijans. Hides worth crores

of rupees are exported from our country. It is our folly that we export more hides than any other country in the world. By doing that, we deprive the Harijans of a means of livelihood.

It is a great sin, a crime, to consider any human being as inferior to ourselves.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 6-1-1935

49. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

BIRLA MILLS, DELHI,
December 31, 1934

CHI. PREMA,

It is about 6 a.m. now, but it is pitch dark outside. My hands are stiff with cold. It is waste land all around where I am staying. A Harijan Ashram is to be established here. Two rooms have been built for special use. In addition, there are three or four tents.

I got your letter. You may go on asking me any questions that you like. I will reply to as many of them as I can when I get time.

How is Kisan? She was to come and stay with you for some time. What happened about that?

I am sure your work will go on and you will receive monetary help as and when needed.

Since you have unshakable faith in the power of Ramanama, you will certainly experience the truth of your faith. Go on repeating it even if you see darkness all around. If you do that, all will be well with you.

The small size of land holdings is a big problem. It will present difficulties even when we have power in our hands. Just now our experiments are intended to find out what we can do without power. Even small plots can be profitable if they are cultivated intelligently. We can demonstrate this only through experiments. But our own superficial knowledge in this field is a handicap. That is why we do not take up directly problems relating to agriculture. Our present aim is to popularize such crafts and industries as we can think of and as would be easy for the villagers to learn, so that we may teach cultivators to shed their lethargy and may also promote the application of intelligence to crafts. The rest will follow.

I am certain that the people's condition was better formerly than it is today. This can be proved. In the past, the country drew wealth from outside. Land holdings had not become fragmented to the extent that they have today, and wealth was not drained out of the country as it is today. Nature did her work in her own way. Now we interfere with her work without full knowledge of her laws, and we do this in an organized manner. The result is that we are completely impoverished.

Ramarajya is certainly an imaginary ideal, but it can also be proved that something approximating to it did exist in former times. It is true, however, that at no time in the past were untruth and poverty completely absent and they are not likely to be so at any time in the future.

The practice of retiring into mountain caves was undoubtedly inspired by despair about the world. It may have had some use in the past, but it has none today. To give one's life in the service of one's fellow-beings is as good a thing as living in a cave.

Our attitude towards other people should be the same as towards ourselves. Though we may remain unattached to things concerning ourselves, we shall certainly feel cold and heat and try to relieve cold with heat and heat with cold. If we don't succeed, however, we shall not sit down and start crying. That is non-attachment. Our attitude to others shivering with cold should be the same. We must try to relieve their suffering. Seeing them shivering, we will give them or share with them what we have. If they still continue to shiver, we will suffer with them but will not lose our patience and resort to violence or untruth. That will be non-attachment on our part.

Khadi both is and is not a means of livelihood. It has been described as *Annapurna*¹.

Excepting violence, I think there are many things in Russia which seem worth accepting. It is possible, however, that the changes which now seem realizable only through force will not be accepted by people voluntarily in the very same form. But, then, it is not right to draw inferences, as all of us do, from what we read. We should think about our problems independently for ourselves. The person who is affected by a problem can solve it best.

It is impossible to eliminate inequality completely. But we can bring about the maximum measure of equality only by follow-

¹ Goddess Parvati, literally one who overflows with food

ing the path which I have shown. It is not a new truth I am holding up before the country but an old one (though perhaps in a new manner).

Cultivators can derive great hope from the fact that, by engaging themselves in subsidiary industries in their spare time, they can add considerably to their income.

The economic interests of cultivators should be safeguarded through proper organization. We can explain to them that economic betterment will not be possible unless they learn to organize.

The law of karma is easy to understand. It is similar to the law which we learn in mechanics. When several material forces operate simultaneously, we see only one result of their operation. That is also how karma operates.

You may, if you wish, go to a very small village. But it will be enough if you stick to the present place. If you can achieve complete success in one place, it will have the same effect that a right angle has.¹ At present we have no right angle.

I shall be here up to the 20th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10365. Also C.W. 6804. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

50. LETTER TO VIDYA R. PATEL

December 31, 1934

CHI. VIDYA,

I got your letter. You do not seem to be writing to anybody in the Ashram. Have you kept up any study there? If you become lethargic, you will not be able to run your home when you have one. Do not, therefore, remain idle a single minute. You should spend some time in good reading and some in doing useful work.

I shall be pleased if you write to me regularly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9589

¹ In a parallelogram, where if one angle is made a right angle the remaining angles also will be right angles.



51. LETTER TO RAMESHWARPRASAD NEVATIA

December 31, 1934

CHI. RAMESHWAR,

I had your letter. You did well in writing at length. Keep up the practice. Teach Bhai Ghani to be as simple as possible. Let him come here if he wishes to. We shall have his tonsils examined by Dr. Ansari. I have sent through Swami a letter about the workers of the sugar mill. Send me a reply to it.

I shall be in Delhi till the 20th. Address the letter to Birla Mills though I am staying on the new plot purchased for Harijans.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3041

52. LETTER TO S. AMBUJAMMAL

December 31, 1934

CHI. AMBUJAM,

Your letter. You should see Kakasaheb from time to time. Krishnan Nair says that both the Devakis can come when the Ashram is opened. There is nothing to say about Lilavati. Inform me when everything is ready.

I expect you got the articles from Bardoli.

The stay in Delhi will extend up to the 20th at least. Keep writing to me. Ba, Mirabehn, Marybehn and Khurshedbehn are with me. Lilavati too is in Delhi. It is pretty cold here. Ramdas has gone to Bombay and Prabhavati is in Wardha. Mehrtaj is here living at Dr. Ansari's.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

You can take curds instead of milk and rice instead of wheat; the quantity of milk should be the same.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.W. 9599. Courtesy: S. Ambujammal

53. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDUSTAN TIMES"

DELHI,
January 1, 1935

It is true that I enjoy friendly relations with General Smuts.¹ We even met in London during the Second Round Table Conference and had discussions about India's goal. It is true also that he had advised acceptance of the proposals adumbrated in the White Paper, as distinguished from the J. P. C. Report. General Smuts had given that advice with certain reservations. I might state that to General Smuts's letter I had sent no reply. His was an informal private letter calling for no reply.

I would advise the public not to attach any importance to a matter of purely personal concern, carrying no public significance, especially when my opinion² on the White Paper proposals remains unchanged.

On his attention being drawn to recent newspaper reports suggesting that Mr. Andrews's recent visit to India was in connection with the J. P. C. Report, Gandhiji emphatically stated that it had nothing to do with the Report, nor was Mr. Andrews the bearer of any letter from General Smuts.

His visit was predominantly in connection with his forthcoming broadcast this month. So far as the J.P.C. Report is concerned, we had the briefest casual conversation, not extending over a few minutes, during which I gathered that Mr. C. F. Andrews was in substantial agreement with my opinion that the proposals are utterly unacceptable.

The Hindustan Times, 2-1-1935

¹ Gandhiji was asked to comment on the report that General Smuts "had impressed on Gandhiji the necessity of co-operating with Government in face of the strong rebellious Tory die-hard group which desires to sabotage and so destroy the whole scheme of constitutional reforms".

² *Vide* "Letter to Agatha Harrison", pp. 13-4.

54. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

DELHI,
January 2, 1935

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got your letters as also the cable regarding Ramdas and Nimu. I wanted something like this, but I had not asked for a cable. It is difficult to say if Ramdas will go [to South Africa]. At present he is looking for an opening in some business in Bombay. Anyway Manilal has, though belatedly, discharged his obligation.

Harilal has for some time now settled in Rajkot. He seems to have undergone a metamorphosis.

I have noted what Sushila writes about Sita. It will be enough if she is educated as you four brothers were educated by me. I don't repent it. It does not matter that they had no formal schooling. They have lost nothing thereby. Harilal was stubborn and did eventually go to school, doing himself harm. What children get in the loving company of their parents they can get nowhere else. Sita need not be sent here. Know that you have a duty towards Sita as you have your other duties. When you try to discharge this duty you will learn the lesson of pure *brahmacharya*. Just by her trying to pick up your calling she will train herself. She will pick up your speech whether decent or indecent. If you know your grammar she will learn it. If you can keep your accounts, she will learn her arithmetic. She will dust, cook, fetch water, tend the plants, learn press work. In this way by learning yourselves and helping others learn, you will all rise higher and higher. When she grows up you can send her elsewhere where she can learn more. This is the purport of the varnashramadharma and there is economics underlying it. This is true education. Give up your fondness for schools. It is my firm belief that although the schools may offer you a free play for the intellect they do little towards character-building. I myself know many who have suffered in character by going to school. I do not know of many people who could add lustre to their character by attending schools. I for one believe that those parents who send their children to school do not observe their dharma. Yes, when the children grow up, that is, say, attain the age of sixteen, they can

do whatever they like. Hence, let Sita remain under your personal care till she is sixteen so that she turns out an accomplished girl and may not suffer any kind of handicap. To achieve this she should participate in all your activities and play her part intelligently. With this you will have observed your dharma.'

The purport of all that I have said is only this: Forget for the time being your obsession with schooling for Sita. Let her have as much English, Hindi, Gujarati as you two can give her. Teach her your calling. You can impart to her plenty of knowledge through everyday conversation. In this way she will be making rapid progress. The right thing for her is to stick right there. Teach her the prayers, *bhajans*, etc. She should learn the *Ramayana* and other stories. Let her know about the *Gita* and other books. Some books you and Sushila have to read just for Sita's sake. None of you need think of the country for the time being. When you come you should all come together. Having thought over all this "do as you like"¹.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4831

55. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

January 2, 1935

CHI. SHARMA,

I have your letter. Certainly I am responsible² but I had understood that you had nothing to hide. Do not read the letters that you get or don't let them affect you. Amtussalaam has not come here so far, she is probably at Indore. It is a great thing that Krishna has recovered. What is your diet these days?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivanke Solah Varsha*, between pp. 140 and 141

¹ *Bhagavad Gita*, xviii. 63

² For other people learning about the addressee's fast

56. *DISCUSSION AT CENTRAL BOARD,
HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH*¹

[January 2, 1935]²

'Why', some of them asked, 'should this be put into a pledge?'³ And this pledge seems more sociological than humanitarian. Eradication of untouchability is one thing, but this levelling of status seems to be altogether a different thing. Are we to regard our servants as equal to us in status? You seem to be driving us slowly to social and economic revolution.

[GANDHIJI:] I am surprised that the truth dawns upon you so late. You are very much mistaken if you feel that Harijans expect anything less from you. You may be quite ready to treat a few Harijans on terms of equality, but unless you are prepared to treat *all*—the sweeper and the scavenger—and not merely a Harijan Judge sitting on a Court Bench—you have not rid yourselves of the evil. The very idea of superiority is most loathsome. It is at the back of most of the race feuds in the world. The thing is universal, I am afraid, but among us, it is in its cruellest form, because it is claimed to have got a religious sanction.

'You are right, Mahatmaji,' said one of the members, 'there are some members on our Board who feel that Brahmins are superior to Vaishyas.'

[G.] They have no business to be on our Board. Removal of untouchability means one thing for a Harijan, another thing for a caste Hindu, and quite another for a Harijan Sevak.

'I quite see the thing,' said Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, 'but how can I sign the pledge when I know that I do not treat my servant as equal to me in status? My peace of mind will go.'

[G.] It need not go. You will treat him as a member of your family.

[R. N.] It is easier said than done, Mahatmaji. How can I claim to treat him as a member of my family when I sleep on a cot or a sofa, and he stands at the door?

¹ Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Self-introspection Week"

² The pledge which was a part of the constitution was discussed and adopted on January 2.

³ It read: "I do not consider any human being as inferior to me in status and I shall strive my utmost to live up to that belief."

[G.] You can, for the simple reason that you will sleep on your feather-bed, not because you are superior to him, but because it has become a need with you. No, no. You are unnecessarily afraid. It is more a mental adjustment than physical. I shall give you just one or two instances. When I went to Lady Astor's, she brought out all her servants to shake hands with me. They hesitated, but then they saw that they did not need to do so. Lloyd George, when I was his guest for a few hours, encouraged all his servants, as he would his own children, to hand me their autograph books for my signature.

[R. N.] I know, Mahatmaji, I know. Bertrand Russell also treats his servants as equals.

[G.] Well, then, why should you be any less than Bertrand Russell? You have a father who will place no obstacles in your way and a husband who will go the whole length with you.

No, no. This pledge is absolutely essential. You cut at the root of the movement if you do not have it, and you will justify the attitude of the sanataniists. As you have to discharge the financial obligations, you have to discharge the moral also, and I must say that, just as I should rue the day on which I collected money if I found that the money was ill-spent, in the same way I should feel guilty if I found that I was not discharging the moral obligation. You ought to have realized the implications of the movement when you joined it. I am not after extinguishing all differences. Who can destroy natural differences? Is there no difference between a Brahmin, a dog and a dog-eater? And yet the *Gita* says:

विद्याविनयसंपन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।

शूनि खैव इक्ष्वाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ॥¹

i.e., 'The men who have realized the Truth look with an equal eye on a learned and cultured Brahmin, on a cow, an elephant, a dog and a dog-eater.' There is a difference between them but the man who knows the science of life will say that there is no difference between them in status, as there is none between an elephant and an ant, a savage and a savant. Of course, the savage may be awe-struck before a savant; but the latter should not have any sense of superiority. No, we are all equal in the eyes of the law and God. That is the ideal we have to live up to.

But, then, there should be no master, no servant?

No. There is a beautiful Latin saying—*Primus inter pares*—first among equals, and the Master or the President will be the first among equals. I can see that it is difficult to practise the thing; that is why you will say in your pledge that you will strive your utmost to live up to your belief. That we cannot practise it at once, or fully, does not show that the pledge is wrong; it shows that human nature can be despicable. No, you have got to understand that this is a fundamental thing of the movement. Otherwise, you will justify the charge that it is a dodge.

Harijan, 11-1-1935

57. SPEECH AT HARIJAN COLONY, DELHI¹

January 2, 1935

The whole idea originated with Sjt. Ghanashyamdas Birla, and he had now donated the grounds for the Colony. As President of the Board and as a moneyed man, he was always thinking of ways and means for the economic uplift of the Harijans, and his ambition was to make this Colony a centre from which would radiate inspiration and all kinds of activity.

However, it is no use talking of one's ambition. Everything will depend on us, workers. No work will suffer for want of money, that much I can say, from my own experience of several institutions. Remember that we are debtors and Harijans are creditors. We have until today delighted in mounting on their backs, like 'the old man of the sea'. We have exacted labour from them and have not scrupled to belabour them, and even to kill them, when they raised a voice of protest. A Meerut zamindar is said to have seriously injured [some Harijans] and one has died. In Kathiawar, a similar thing happened, and there, too a Harijan died. The poor folks would seem to have been born in order to toil and moil for us! We have been guilty of a heinous sin, and it is time we expiated it. It is for that purpose that the Sangh was created. It is a stupendous task, but it has to be done. I have said it several times, and shall repeat it today, that, unless we discharge our debt, Hinduism will perish. Untouchability must be destroyed, or else it will destroy Hinduism. That is why I am giving myself no rest. Not that I do not need it. I may say that I have several years of arrears of rest to cover, but how can I have rest? How can one have rest with a raging fire within? How can any Hindu, knowing that Hinduism is on the

¹ Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "The Self-introspection Week"

brink of an active volcano, afford to have a moment's rest? Not, surely, until the volcano is extinguished. In a stupendous task of this character, a gift of Rs. 3,500, like the one given by Ghanshyamdasji today, is as a drop in the ocean. Hundreds of millionaires like him will have to empty their treasures for this sacred task. If only you are consumed with a passion for it, the task will be done. There is no lack of money, as Ghanshyamdasji said. There will be none. All that is needed is the will and passion for it. The service of the Harijans is the service of Hinduism, and the service of Hinduism is the service of humanity. Hinduism is no exclusive religion, it tolerates no intolerance. Intolerance it holds to be a sin. But unless and until we befriend the Harijan, unless and until we treat him as our own brother, we cannot treat humanity as one brotherhood. The whole movement for the removal of untouchability is a movement for the establishment of universal brotherhood, and nothing less.

Harijan, 11-1-1935

58. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

[On or after *January 2, 1935*]¹

ABHYANKAR'S DEATH GREAT TRAGEDY. CONSOLE HIS WIFE AND FAMILY. TELL HER SHE MUST BE BRAVE IF SHE WOULD BE WORTHY OF A BRAVE HUSBAND. I EXPECT HER TO KEEP UP THE TRADITIONS OF SERVICE ABHYANKAR HAS BEQUEATHED.

The Hindustan Times, 4-1-1935

59. LETTER TO CARL HEATH

January 3, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of 21st ultimo. Your previous letter was read by Mirabeen, Mahadev and later by Andrews. All of them put, independently of me, the same construction that I had. Of course, I unreservedly accept your correction. I simply want to say that it was after carefully reading your letter more than three times that I sent you the reply² I did. Andrews

¹ M. V. Abhyankar died on January 2, 1935.

² *Vide* Vol. LIX, pp. 435-7.

also read my reply to you, and he had nothing to suggest by way of alteration.

Of course, you knew the existence of the repressive laws. But you did not know, nor do you know now, what their continuance meant or means to us here. A strange confirmation of this comes from Dr. Maude Royden who is reported to have said at Karachi that the people in England knew nothing, through the daily Press or otherwise, of the amazing things which she heard during the two or three days she found herself amongst the very sober women of India. Andrews will be able to give you first-hand testimony of what he saw and learnt in Bengal.

You seem to regard the possibility of withdrawal of the forthcoming Bill¹ as a calamity. In my opinion, if the withdrawal comes even at the last moment, it will be a blessing both for England and India, for the simple reason that persistence in the measure in the face of an almost unanimous Indian opposition to it would mean an unbending attitude on the part of the British Parliament and utter contempt for Indian public opinion. I hope you have seen the bitter comment made by Rt. Hon. Sastri, who was at one time a *persona grata* at the India Office whose complete confidence he enjoyed, and the equally bitter comment of Hon. C. Y. Chintamani, who has been regarded as a moderate among moderates and who has, in season and out of season, condemned the Congress attitude in unmeasured language.

Now for the briefest summary of my own personal objections to the J. P. C. Report. I read that Report and the White Paper as one document. Whatever new there is in the former is not regarded at this end as an improvement, but quite the contrary, and it is the last straw which has broken the back of the Liberals. They had cherished the fond hope that the Joint Memorandum signed under the leadership of the Aga Khan would receive the favourable consideration of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and that some, if not all, of its recommendations would be accepted by it. The contemptuous dismissal of that Memorandum, beyond a mere courteous reference to it, has extorted the following remark from Sastri:

No, Sir, it is impossible for the Liberal Party to give an atom of co-operation. Co-operation with friends that wish well of us will be worth while, but co-operation with those who have displayed the utmost

¹ The Government of India Bill on a new constitution for India. It received Royal assent and became an Act on August 2, 1935.

distrust of us, who do not care for our views and demands, and who enact a constitution in utter disregard of our wishes, what is co-operation with them, I ask? I should call it a suicide.

SUMMARY

1. There is no suggestion in the J.P.C. Report that there should be a clause in the constitution providing for automatic advance to complete independence or whatever the elected representatives of India may decide to have.

2. The contemplated constitution saddles India with a greater financial burden than she is bearing today without any prospect of economic or political betterment.

3. At the centre, 80 per cent of the revenue is reserved out of any popular control.

4. There is no popular control over the military, whether as to policy or as to expenditure.

5. There is no popular control over the currency or the exchange of the country.

6. Even the control over the 20 per cent proposed to be left in the hands of the Finance Minister is subject to suspension by the Governor-General.

7. The provincial autonomy adumbrated in the Report is purely nominal, as the Governors of the provinces have such wide powers that they can, whenever they choose, make an end of responsibility. It would be utterly wrong for any Britisher to infer from Colonial precedents that these powers will be rarely, if ever, exercised. Indian past experience is quite the contrary.

8. Responsible Ministers have no right even to transfer any member, either of the all-India service or of the provincial service.

9. The so-called autonomous legislatures will have no right to amend the Police Acts or even Police Regulations.

10. British exploitation is made firmer than ever.

The overwhelming effect of all the foregoing objections considered together leaves an indelible impression upon the mind that, bad as the existing constitution is, the threatened new one will be infinitely worse. And what is more, if the threatened new constitution is passed, it would be most difficult for years to come to undo the mischief that will be done under it.

To clinch the whole of the objections, it is well to remember that the constitution is sought to be imposed upon the people who are already groaning under repression, such as, perhaps, has not been equalled in British Indian history. I am making this statement with the full sense of my responsibility. I have a

vivid memory of Jallianwala Bagh. I have read Kaye and Malleeson's volumes on the Sepoy Revolt, as it has been called, of 1857. Both make gruesome reading. Then, it was the naked sword. The repression represents the gloved fist, but deadlier on that account.

You may make whatever private use you wish of this letter. Nobody else is responsible for the opinion I have expressed in this. It has been shown to no friend beyond Mahadev, Mira and the typist.

My writing may seem bitter; but I would like to warn you against putting any such interpretation upon it. The language represents the truth and nothing but the truth as I have seen and felt it. It does not represent the whole truth. If I had the time and the capacity to give you the whole truth, the version would be even worse than it is.

In spite, however, of the black picture that I see in it, I have no bitterness in me against a single Englishman. I believe that the English Ministers are pursuing what they believe to be an honest policy to be adopted in the interest of India. It is their honest belief that British rule in India has been, on the whole, for her good. They honestly believe that under it India has advanced in economic progress and in political capacity, and that if India received the constitution that the vast number of the intelligentsia wish for, it would be a bad day for her. It is difficult to combat an honest belief, however erroneous it may be, as, in my opinion, it is in this case. But it would also be wrong to be angry over an honest belief of any person. Whilst, therefore, I hold the strong opinion that I have expressed in the foregoing summary I would ask you to believe me implicitly when I give you my assurance that, God helping, I shall take no step in haste or in anger.

I have retired from the Congress because, among other reasons, I want to impose silence upon myself, so far as it is humanly possible, about the political measures of the Government. I want, in my voluntary isolation, to explore the yet hidden possibilities of non-violence. Every action I am taking, no matter in what department of life, is being taken with that end in view. The only axe that I have to grind on this earth is to try to understand the ultimate truth of things which, at present, I seem to see only dimly. And after a laborious search I have come to the conclusion that if I am to see it in any fullness I can only do so by non-violence in thought, word and deed. What this search will lead me to, I really do not know myself,

nor have I the slightest desire to see it before its time. For me, therefore, it is an incessant waiting upon God to show me the next step, and I shall be grateful if any of you friends can, with your full hearts, help me in that search.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

CARL HEATH, Esq.
LONDON

From a photostat: G.N. 1028

60. LETTER TO MRS. LINDSAY¹

January 3, 1935

DEAR SISTER,

A happy New Year to you all. Your letter reached me just in time to enable me to send you this little note.

I often think of you and my Oxford visits but the work in hand crowds out all love letters.

We have very difficult times here in every way. But I don't lose hope. I know that winter must be followed by summer.

It is loving thought to regard one's cats and dogs as members of one's family.

You know that Andrews was in our midst for a few days. He expects to return in April. Dr. Maude Royden is in Karachi. I expect to see her in Delhi where I am just now and where I expect to be for over three weeks.

Mira, Mahadev and Devdas are here. Pyarelal is away near Bombay.

With love to you all from us all,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 9743. Courtesy: British High Commission in India

¹Wife of Dr. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College. A photostat of the original of this letter was displayed at the U. K. pavillion of the Gandhi-Darshan Exhibition held at New Delhi in 1969-70.

61. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

January 3, 1935

In Mr. Abhyankar, a brave and intrepid man has passed away. His death is a distinct loss to the nation. My own relations with him were growing day by day so intimate that his passing away I feel like a personal loss.

The Hindustan Times, 4-1-1935

62. NOTES

A CORRECTION

In reference to the figures of production and sale given by the Secretary, A.I.S.A., in the self-sufficiency report published in our issue of the 9th November, he writes:¹

In *Harijan* dated 9-11-34, on page 312, figures of khadi production and sale of A.I.S.A. branches have appeared. Therein, with reference to Karnatak and Utkal Branches, it has been stated in the footnote that 'the production of the branches being inadequate, khadi had to be imported from [other] branches to meet the demand'. This remark does not apply to Utkal. . . . The purchases of the Utkal Branch from other branches during 1933 amounted to only Rs. 557, and not over Rs. 17,000 as would appear from the remark made. We regret the error.

HARIJAN REPRESENTATION

At the request of a correspondent, I had asked Thakkar Bapa to tell me how many Harijans there were in Harijan Sevak Boards in all India. The returns so far received show, for ten provinces, 171 Harijan members against 1,158 non-Harijans. I give the figures by way of information only. It would be wrong to infer that these figures are a sign of solid work. They are undoubtedly evidence of two things:

(1) The Boards have tried to take as their co-members as many Harijans as they could find to help them.

(2) There are enough Hindus of standing who are prepared to lend their names to the Boards, whose avowed object is to

¹ Only extracts are reproduced here.

seek for Harijans equality with the rest of their fellow Hindus in matters social, economical, political and religious.

I wish it were possible for me to add also that the number of so many caste Hindus and Harijan Hindus on the Boards is a sign of solid progress. Indeed, the large number of members on the Boards adds to the expenses of administration without increasing efficiency or the output of work. Means are being devised to increase efficiency and output, even if it should involve reduction of the number of members. In the service of the poor and the down-trodden, limitation of overhead expenses to a minimum is absolutely necessary. For the helpless can exercise no check on the extravagance, be it unconscious, of their helpers, no matter how benevolent, and the latter, unless they would put checks on their unconscious extravagance in the name of better management, are likely to spend more than they need. A critical examination of the administration of many charitable organizations would either reveal woeful extravagance or hopeless mismanagement and a criminal neglect of their trust by the trustees. Harijan Boards have to escape both misfortunes, if they are to render a good account of themselves to the Harijans, whom it is their sole aim to serve.

Harijan, 4-1-1935

63. NOTES

BENGAL HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH

Here is a summary of the work of the Bengal Provincial Harijan Sevak Sangh for the months of October and November last.

Expenditure in 2 months	Rs. 2,305
Sangh's branches and organizations exclusively devoted to Harijan <i>sewa</i> and attached to Provincial Sangh, or aided	9
Whole-time honorary workers	33
Hospital	1 with 6 beds
Dispensary	1 attended monthly by 1000 patients
Medicines distributed from	6 centres
Schools entirely financed, also partly helped	65
Number of pupils	1,900

Scholarships given
Industrial Institute

36

1 Cottage
Tanning
Institute,
Calcutta

I must deal with some of the details of this work in a future issue.

Harijan, 4-1-1935

64. ITS MEANING

To my unaided mind you appear to be opening the first campaign of an endless and quixotic war against modern civilization. Long ago you proclaimed yourself its sleepless enemy, and now you would, if you could, turn it back on the course it has pursued for some millennia. I reel at the mere thought.¹

This is from an intimate letter from a dear friend who wrote in reply to my letter, inquiring if he could extend his co-operation in the effort. As the view expressed so frankly by the friend is, I know, shared by quite a number of friends, it is well for me to explain my position. It would be impertinent for me to do so if my position was not also that of the A.I.V.I.A.

In seeking to revive such village industries as are capable of being revived, I am making no such attempt as the friend ascribes to me. I am trying to do what every lover of village life, everyone who realizes the tragic meaning of the disintegration of villages, is doing or trying to do. Why am I turning back the course of modern civilization when I ask the villager to grind his own meal, eat it whole, including the nourishing bran, or when I ask him to turn his sugar-cane into *gur* for his own requirements, if not for sale? Am I turning back the course of modern civilization when I ask the villagers not merely to grow raw produce, but to turn it into marketable products and thereby add a few more pies to their daily income?

And surely modern civilization is not millennia old. We can almost give its birth an exact date. If I could do it, I would most assuredly destroy or radically change much that goes under the name of modern civilization. But that is an old story of life. The attempt is undoubtedly there. Its success depends upon God. But the attempt to revive and encourage the remu-

¹ *Vide* Vol. LIX, footnote 1, p. 363.

nerative village industries is not part of such an attempt, except in so far as every one of my activities, including the propagation of non-violence, can be described as such an attempt. The revival of village industries is but an extension of the khadi effort. Hand-spun cloth, hand-made paper, hand-pounded rice, home-made bread and jam, are not uncommon in the West. Only, there they do not have one-hundredth of the importance they have in India. For, with us, their revival means life, their destruction means death, to the villagers, as he who runs may see. Whatever the machine age may do, it will never give employment to the millions whom the wholesale introduction of power machinery must displace.

Harijan, 4-1-1935

65. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

January 4, 1935

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

See the accompanying postcard. Venilal is a fine man. Harilal knows him. It would be a good thing if Jaisukhlal's brother could be drawn into Harijan work.¹ He seems to be more in need of work than of income. Meet him. If you are satisfied with him, if Narandas agrees and if such persons are required near Rajkot, accept him.

Bapa seems to be very much pleased with you. How is Rama? How are Dhiru and Vimu faring?

Ramdas's ship is in mid-ocean. He is in Bombay now.

I am here at any rate up to the 20th. You will know from *Harijan* the activities here.

If any Harijan workers can take up other work besides khadi and arrange it round the latter like the planets revolving round the sun, there could be no objection at all to their doing so. On the contrary, it is desirable. If you have grasped this principle, follow it.

Panditji² is here. He is going to Sabarmati and will live there now. Lakshmibehn³ will stay in Wardha for the present.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5528

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Venilal A. Gandhi", p. 26.

² Narayan M. Khare

³ Wife of Narayan M. Khare

66. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

January 4, 1935

CHI, VASUMATI,

I have your letter. It is all right if you take boiled milk when fresh milk is not available. You must not discontinue uncooked vegetables or fruit. The menu should also include *bhakhris*¹ of whole wheat flour and roasted wheat. It is very cold here. Yet I have not stopped my morning and evening walks. As usual the whole army moves with me. Amtul came yesterday. Ambujam enquires about you regularly. Her ashram will be ready by the Samkrant². Keep in touch with Ramdas. I shall be here till the 20th if not longer.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9390. Also C.W. 635. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

67. INTERVIEW TO DEPUTATIONS

January 4, 1935

The deputation . . . led by Mr. Raghubir Narain Singh . . . pointed out to Gandhiji the various difficulties which faced them in reviving village industries and sought his help and guidance, to which Mahatmaji replied:

My first aim is to change the mentality of the people, not to coerce them as Roosevelt, Hitler or Mussolini are doing in their countries. As the mentality of the people has changed to-day towards khadi, so I hope to turn their mind in favour of indigenous industries.

My efforts are to keep up our civilization, and I will do my best for it.

He advised the deputationists to mobilize public opinion against mill products, so that the cottage industries might be revived.³

¹ Thick chapatis of wheat flour

² January 14

³ It was decided that Gandhiji would receive the deputation again on January 11, to discuss the various points raised by them.

Another deputation waited on Mahatmaji consisting of Chamars of the village of Kotana within the Baraut Tahsil in Meerut. . . . They wanted financial assistance from the Harijan Fund for conducting a case which has been instituted by the injured Chamars¹. Gandhiji advised them to effect a compromise and try to raise money locally.

The Bombay Chronicle, 5-1-1935

68. MESSAGE TO PUBLIC MEETING, DELHI²

[January 4, 1935]

The best way wherein his countrymen could respect his memory was to emulate the fearlessness and devotion of the late Mr. Abhyankar whose death was a sad thing for the country.

The Hindustan Times, 5-1-1935

69. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

DELHI,

January 5, 1935

MY DEAR CHILD,

If this letter can intensify the wishes, then this is to reciprocate your wishes. It is freezingly cold here. The 4 o'clock prayer bell has gone.

Of course, Harijans need ever so much more than mere temple-entry for their spiritual satisfaction. Temple-entry is not so much their spiritual need, as its grant is that of the arrogant caste Hindus. They can have no spiritual grace so long as they deny to their fellows in faith the same right of worship that they claim for themselves. Is not this quite clear?

With love and kisses added for the children,

Yours,
BAPU

¹ Who were alleged to have been ill-treated by the zamindar of the village

² Held on January 4, under the auspices of the District Congress Committee, at which tributes were paid to M. V. Abhyankar. Gandhiji sent this message through Mahadev Desai.

[PS.]

In Delhi till 20th at least, 28th at the most. Then Wardha.

From a photostat. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also *My Dear Child*, p. 109

70. SPEECH AT MEETING OF CENTRAL BOARD, HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH¹

[January 5, 1935]²

It is impossible to over-estimate the value of meticulous detail in your estimates. The path of service to the Harijans is strait and sharp as the razor's edge, simply because the goal is that of complete self-purification. We can never be too critical of ourselves, and every pie we get must be received as a dedication to God and used as a sacred trust. Broad heads, therefore, will never do, there is no room in your estimates for 'etceteras' and 'sundries'. For instance, I could not tolerate the item 'books, slates, etc., given free'. Supposing someone gave us a free gift of intoxicating drugs? Would they come under the item? No 'post, telegrams, etc.', either, nor newspapers, nor expenditure on rent. For you should be in a position to say: 'We do not need to spend money on telegrams, we send messages through kind messengers who will take them; we need spend nothing on rent, for we have persuaded some good friends to give us a house.' Expenditure on administration I can tolerate only to a certain extent, and I do not see any need for separate propaganda. Actual solid work is the most eloquent propaganda. I confess I allowed myself to be used for the purpose in that I suffered Thakkar Bapa to carry me about in his circus for about a year; but though I went from place to place under his directions, I must say that the best and the only part I could reconcile myself to was the walking tour in Orissa. Emulate me there if you can. The mutest servant is the most eloquent propagandist. Run a school yourself for Harijans, open a well or temple, help in digging a well or building a village school-house for Harijans. That will be true propaganda. I would ask you to copy the example of Mr. Frazer Hoyland, a schoolmaster from South Wales, who has come to work with his own hands

¹ Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "The Self-introspection Week"

² From *Gandhijini Dinvari*

in the Bihar earthquake area under M. Pierre Ceresole. He has worked among the unemployed people in England and Wales, and knows that writing books and pamphlets is no propaganda, but that manual work and sharing in the toil of people one would serve is true propaganda. I should, therefore, not hesitate to drop the column for propaganda. You have a column showing office expenses. I can understand that in our poor country we cannot run our offices free of cost, but even there, run it through Harijans. If we must have peons, have only Harijans for the purpose, not treating them as peons but as your sons or members of your family. Expenditure on ashrams is a thing I must strongly warn you against. Let us drop the name of 'ashram' for it cannot be run without a solid fund of moral and spiritual capital. One of the branch Sanghs has budgeted Rs. 8,000 for an ashram. Well, I should rule it out, unless they can show that they are doing work worth 8 lacs. Broadly I might say that you should not spend a rupee until you are sure that you are getting ten rupees' worth of work out of it.

Harijan, 11-1-1935

71. LETTER TO UMADEVI BAJAJ

[Before *January 7, 1935*]¹

CHI. OM,

I write this letter with a pencil since I am writing while having my meal.

It is a bad habit to write while eating and it is equally bad to write with a pencil. Please don't copy my example in these respects.

It seems that your ear is still giving you trouble. You must go to Bombay. I am thinking of sending you a wire.

Write to me about Madalasa² also.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Babuke Ashirvad, p. 341

¹ *Vide* the following item.

² Addressee's elder sister

72. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

DELHI,
January 7, 1935

CHI. JAMNALAL,

The Delhi cold, instead of helping me to work harder, makes me do less work when so much work has piled up. What you say about Abhyankar is indeed what has happened. His loss is bound to be felt.

It seems that your ear is taking quite a lot of time to be fully cured. It will not matter at all if you cannot come. Nothing should be done which may interfere with the cure of your ear. Kamalnayan¹ cannot be sent to Ceylon now, not as long as malaria is raging there.

The discharge from Om's ear persists. Last week, I had sent her a wire and asked her to go to Bombay immediately and consult a doctor there. She doesn't seem yet to have done so. I would advise you to call her and get her ear examined by some doctor.

Lali seems to have settled down.

Mehr's case is difficult. She has been staying at Dr. Ansari's place from the day she arrived here. She just dropped in casually once. She has come to develop a feeling of revulsion against the Ashram. We shall have to leave her here. Fortunately, Dr. Khan Saheb's wife is arriving here. Mehr will perhaps stay with her. I wish to return to Wardha on the 22nd, and in any case on the 29th at the latest. Shankerlal² and Gulzarilal³ have arrived here today.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Ramdas is thinking of going to Bardoli and Lakhtar to bring away his papers, etc., to go through them. Please give him the fare, etc.

BAPU

¹ Addressee's son

² Shankerlal Banker

³ Gulzarilal Nanda

[PPS.]

Dev Sharma came and saw me. He says that he is prepared to take charge of the Shail Ashram if he is given the entire expenditure that is incurred there at present. Let me know what you think about this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2950

73. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

January 7, 1935

CHI. VALJI,

I have not yet been able to write about the incidents in the *Ramayana*. In fact I have forgotten all that I was told about them. Now I shall have to write anew. I therefore want to consider some incidents. We must find that essay of Shastri on cow-protection. If you can find another secretary devoted to the cow, I shall entrust this task to him. If you cannot, you should start doing some work yourself instead of being there merely in name. Here again what is required is strength of character, not physical strength. How are your eyes? Try wet-sheet packs soaked in fresh milk when you go to sleep at night—whether or not your eyes are all right—will you? There is no harm in it. I have your *Ramakatha* in front of me and I am going to read it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7468. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

74. LETTER TO DUNICHAND

DELHI,
January 8, 1935

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND,

I have your letter. Your suggestions are good but nothing can be done by the Association that will bring it in conflict with the authorities. Relief of the kind you mention is surely political and has to be tackled by political bodies. There are however some items which will be taken up as the work progresses.

Surely villages won't require any inducement when they are helped to get some remunerative work for their idle hours. So

far as the industries are concerned, they won't be called upon to make any sacrifice.

The difficulty will come in when sanitary work and moral reform commence.

But in any case I take it you are going to do what you can to advance the village industries.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5591

75. LETTER TO VERRIER ELWIN

January 8, 1935

MY DEAR VERRIER,

The two suggestions had come to me before, though not exactly in the form you suggest. I am passing your letter on to Kumarappa. The suggestions coming from you acquire an added significance. Let us see.

Love to you all.

BAPU

[PS.]

Happy New Year.

[PPS.]

Delhi up to 20th.

FATHER ELWIN

GOND S. MANDAL

KARANJIA P.O., MANDLA DIST. (C. P.)

From a photostat: G.N. 8930

76. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

January 8, 1935

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I have your separate letters. I understand what you write about Ramdas. I did want a permit issued from there. But never mind if we cannot have it. I shall myself see about it here if Ramdas is willing.

I had a tersely worded letter from Mama about Medh¹, which I am enclosing along with one from Harilal. If you wish, you may let Medh read the letter. There is a great difference between what you recommended and what I find in this letter. Now Pragji alone remains to be consulted.

The new Agent came to see me. He has visited South Africa once. You will surely meet him. Keep me informed about your experience. I have of course asked him to bring about a reconciliation.

I am in Delhi these days. Ba, etc., are with me. We shall be here for a few more days. At any rate we must return by the end of this month. It is pretty cold here.

I hope you are all well.

Sushila seems to have acquired wide knowledge.

What Kallenbach says is on the whole true. Good Jews do not oppose us. Narandas's Kanu is with me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Tell Medh I am not writing a separate letter to him.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4830

¹ Surendra Medh

77. LETTER TO NANDLAL

January 8, 1935

BHAI NANDLAL,

In your poetic fancy, you seem to have been engaged in debunking the Village Industries Association. And yet you sign yourself "Yours faithfully". Only a poet can do that. Do not give any cause to Lilavatibehn for being unhappy. Untruth does certainly follow truth; but ultimately it is left behind. Certainly even indigenous mills will render thousands of people unemployed, so only hand-pounded rice should be used. Your mind is full of so many things that unless you act spiritedly, you won't be able to achieve anything. It is better if you ponder over it and do what you feel is necessary.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

78. LETTER TO CHAND TYAGI

DELHI,
January 8, 1935

BHAI CHAND TYAGI,

Your letter gave me much pleasure. If possible you should come here with Raj Kishori. Only after meeting her can I suggest the right course. You must be keeping well. I am glad to learn that you find Balbir satisfactory.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6630. Also C.W. 4278. Courtesy: Chand Tyagi

79. ADVICE TO AHMEDABAD DEPUTATION¹

January 8, 1935

Gandhiji advised them to preserve the cordial relations that were existing between Labour and Capital in Ahmedabad for the last 15 years and evolve a permanent scheme for an amicable settlement of all labour disputes in future.²

The Bombay Chronicle, 9-1-1935

80. A LETTER

January 8, 1935

DEAR SISTER,

I was glad to hear from you after so many years.

I am keeping myself in touch with Shantilal. I shall do what I can to help him. But to give personal attention to anybody has become almost impossible for me. That chapter of my life seems to have closed altogether.

Khurshedbehn is here. I am afraid she can't go to you. She is in . . .³ with the village work. She has seen your letter. Of course, if you go to the Frontier, you can help the Frontier people in a variety of ways.

I dare not tempt you to come. For I can only give you a few moments if you come.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Vice-President, Ahmedabad Mill-owners' Association, Shankarlal Banker, Vice-President and Gulzarilal Nanda, Secretary of the Labour Association called on Gandhiji in connection with a wage dispute.

² As a result of this meeting it was decided to convene a bigger conference of the representatives of the two Associations.

³ Omission as in the source

81. INTERVIEW TO MRS. C. KUTTAN NAIR¹

January 8, 1935

MRS. NAIR: It is my feeling, especially after attending the All-India Women's Conference at Karachi, that the women's movement in India is not a representative one. It only represents the aristocracy and upper middle class. Can you suggest practical measures to make it a real mass movement?

GANDHIJI: The obvious remedy would be for the existing members to throw themselves in the khaddar and other village industry movements and thus develop the village instinct and take pride in depending on villages for all their wants.

MRS. N. Do you not think that co-education from very early days till the end of the educational career will help a great deal in removing the sex obsession that we see in our midst today?

G. I cannot definitely state as yet whether it would be successful or not. It does not seem to have succeeded in the West. I tried it myself years ago when I even made boys and girls sleep in the same verandah with no partition between them, Mrs. Gandhi and myself sharing the verandah with them. I must say that it brought about undesirable results.

MRS. N. But do not worse things happen in *purdah*-ridden communities?

G. Yes, of course, but co-education is still in an experimental stage and we cannot definitely say one way or the other as to its results. I think that we should begin with the family first. There, boys and girls should grow together freely and naturally. Then co-education will come by itself.

MRS. N. As a teacher who has moved rather intimately with her students I have had occasion to come across some who, through ignorance and through information gathered from unhealthy sources during the period of adolescence, resorted to practices that were not conducive either to their physical or moral well-being. Will not the teaching of sex hygiene in schools in the most scientific and informal manner be really beneficial to our boys and girls?

¹ A leading social worker of Cochin. The notes of the interview prepared by the interviewer were revised by Gandhiji.

G. Yes. And there should be no reason why one should not be able to talk freely on this matter.

MRS. N. On discussing very freely the question of birth-control with many a married woman, I find in many cases, specially in the case of those with large families, that motherhood is often thrust upon them. Woman has no freedom in the real sense of the word if she has no right over her body. So for the sake of the mother, whose health is drained away by the bringing forth of too many children and for the sake of children themselves, who should be a joy to us, but who now come forth unwanted in such large numbers, may not birth-control through contraceptives be resorted to, as the next best thing to self-control, which is too high an ideal for the ordinary man or woman?

G. Do you think that the freedom of the body is obtained by resorting to contraceptives? Women should learn to resist their husbands. If contraceptives are resorted to as in the West, frightful results will follow. Men and women will be living for sex alone. They will become soft-brained, unhinged, in fact mental and moral wrecks, if not also physical. Then, while I believe man to be the worse sinner, woman is not very far behind him. Both sin, on the whole. Woman is not always the victim. She should realize her majesty and train herself to say "No" when she means it.

MRS. N. But is there not too much of sex indulgence even now and is the introduction of contraceptives going to make so much difference in the sex life of the individual?

G. Undoubtedly there is already much of sex indulgence and even sex perversion. But contraceptives would be putting the cap on them. They will give a status to intemperate connection which it does not enjoy now.

MRS. N. Even in exceptional cases where a woman is too weak for child-bearing or where either of the parents is diseased, cannot this method be resorted to?

G. No. One exception will lead to another till it finally becomes general. In the cases stated above, it is better that the husband and the wife live apart. Contraceptives which are being tried in the West are leading to hideous immorality and I am sure after a few years, the Westerners themselves will realize their mistake. Do you not know that Mussolini in Italy is giving donations to parents with large families?

MRS. N. Perhaps Mussolini wants more fodder for cannon.

G. What about the English and the Dutch among whom contraceptives are popular? Are they against war?

MRS. N. Can a poor country like India afford to have its present vast population, which seems to increase at a tremendously rapid pace?

G. Nature will solve the problem for us, if we allow Nature to have free play. Contraceptives are an unnatural interference with her laws. If people want to multiply like rabbits, they will have also to die like rabbits. If we become licentious, there will undoubtedly be Nature's punishment descending upon us. It will be a blessing in disguise.

MRS. N. But is self-control possible for the ordinary man and woman?

G. Yes, under well-regulated conditions. Contraceptives are really for the educated people, who are the "sick" of humanity. I call them "sick" because their food and drink and the exceedingly artificial life that they are leading have made them weak-willed and slaves to their passions.

MRS. N. Do you then suggest, Mahatmaji, as a practical remedy for the over-indulgence in sex today, the releasing of the creative energy in man, through channels other than sex, by concentrating on matters like art, science, literature, etc.?

G. That is true so far as it goes. You have to be very careful in the choice of your food and drink and to keep both mind and body clean. Just as it is important to know what goes to the mind it is equally necessary to know what goes into the body. These are simple things, which will help you a great deal in the matter of self-control.

MRS. N. You know that in India there is no bar for physically unfit people to marry and bring forth children. Moreover, Hindu religion enjoins that none could get salvation without there being some male member to perform *shraddha* ceremony. This in normal circumstances is resulting in degeneration of the Hindu race. Are you, under these conditions, in favour of sterilization as is being done in Germany under Hitler?

G. There are crores of Hindus, especially untouchables who do not perform the *shraddha* ceremony. As regards sterilization I consider it inhuman to impose it as a law on the people. But in the case of individuals with chronic diseases, it is desirable to have them sterilized if they are agreeable to it. Sterilization is

a sort of contraceptive and though I am against the use of contraceptives in the case of women, I do not mind voluntary sterilization in the case of man, since he is the aggressor.

MRS. N. Mahatmaji, you say that a woman should not allow motherhood to be thrust upon herself but that she should be able to assert herself and definitely say "No" to her husband. Have you considered the fact that a Hindu woman especially has no economic status, and her defying her "Lord and Master" may result in disastrous consequences for her, and according to law she may be denied even maintenance, not to speak of a second home?

G. If you study statistics, you will find that what you say about the economic condition of a Hindu woman holds good only in the case of a microscopic minority. Do you not know that in Indian houses it is the woman that is generally the real master?

MRS. N. May I know how far your experiments in self-control in the Sabarmati Ashram have been successful?

G. It is very difficult to say. We have had individual cases of terrible tragedy, but those who visited the Ashram were much impressed by the general atmosphere of freedom, without sex consciousness, that prevailed there.

The Hindustan Times, 11-1-1935

82. INTERVIEW WITH HALIDE EDIB HANUM¹

January 9, 1935²

[HALIDE EDIB:] How will you fight the curse of mechanization, Gandhiji? How will you keep human beings human souls?

[GANDHIJI:] It is all implied in my non-violence, Hindu-Muslim unity, the removal of untouchability and giving back to the villagers what belongs to them. The Harijan activity and the movement for the revival of village industries come naturally to me because of non-violence. It is cruel, it is sinful, to think

¹ Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Notes". The interviewer was a Turkish lady who had taken a leading part in the Turkish Revolution. She was visiting India at the invitation of Jamia Millia to deliver a course of lectures. Mahadev Desai reports: "She came and sat down near Gandhiji and said, 'I have come to learn from you and take what I can for my own people'."

² From *The Hindustan Times*, 10-1-1935

of mechanization in a country of 350 million human beings. Every human being is a machine, only it should be kept oiled and in proper trim. That is what I am trying to do.

Political freedom, I am sure, you are going to win but mechanization, I am afraid, might get hold of India.

Then, there is no escape from violence. I saw it as long ago as 1908, and ever since I have shaped all my activities in terms of non-violence. Complete mechanization is impossible in India without its resulting in violence in some shape or other.

I know, I know. But it's so difficult. The soul has to be preserved. I have written a play called *Masques and Souls*. There are more masques than souls, but if you will prepare a nursery of souls, it would be all to the good.

Oh yes, if we can find even one true witness to the Truth.

I am not very optimistic, for the opposite side is very strong.

I have never lost my optimism. In the seemingly darkest hours, hope has burnt bright within me.

You cannot kill your own hope, I know.

You are absolutely right. I cannot kill the hope myself. I must say I cannot give an ocular demonstration to justify the hope. But there is no defeat in me.

There will never be, I am sure, there will never be.

Harijan, 25-1-1935

83. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

DELHI,
January 10, 1935

GHI. AMALA,

I had your pencil note. I do not think that you will need another passport from Germany. That would be necessary if you wanted to go back to Germany. I am sure it is unnecessary for remaining here. At the same time, any foreigner is liable to be turned out at any moment without any reason being assigned. And now there is hardly any difference between a foreigner and one born in the country, because any person can be turned out of the country under the Ordinances law.

You must let me know how you are feeling in Santiniketan. We are here probably till the 28th inst., certainly up to 20th.

Blessings from
BAPU¹

SMT. AMALABEHN
(DR. MARGARETE SPIEGEL)
SANTINIKETAN

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

84. INTERVIEW TO SOCIALISTS

January 10, 1935

The socialists met him again and discussed the village industries problem from the socialist point of view. They are stated to have said that the first step in village programme should be to improve the condition of *kisans* who were being downtrodden by the zamindars and propaganda should be carried on amongst the *kisans* not to submit to the unfairness they are at present subjected to.

Gandhiji, it is understood, did not agree with this view and opined that attempts should be made to retain cordial relations between the two parties. Any split should be avoided and zamindars' sympathies should not be alienated in order to make the present programme succeed. He said that the time was not ripe to bring about a complete change all of a sudden, though that stage might be reached after some time. He said that the socialists' idea to revolutionize the present state of things might result in the zamindars seeking shelter with the third party.

The Bombay Chronicle, 11-1-1935

¹ The subscription is in Gujarati.

85. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

January 10, 1935

What do you think about the latest move of the Government regarding your Village Industries scheme?¹

I should be very glad if Government were to take the wind out of my sails. Much of the work that I propose doing is what Government ought to do. Let Government do whatever they can do, only let not anything be superimposed on the people. If Government helped me, I could produce magical results; but it could be possible only if they helped me in the right spirit. In other words, the Government should understand and appreciate the secrets of the programme.² There are so many ways in which they could help. They could help with the necessary legislation. But pray don't ask me to express any opinion on what Government are doing. I do not want to criticize their work. If it were necessary, I should write to them. So far as I am concerned my life is an open book, and there is absolutely nothing that I would keep secret from them. I have necessarily chosen items to which nobody's attention has been drawn and where I do not trench on ground covered by others. Thus, in my campaign for unpolished rice, hand-ground flour and village-made *gur*, I am simply asking people not to pay for undermining their health. For that is what they are at present doing, and I am thankful to say that I am supported in my view by the highest experts in the land. I dare not think of land improvement and improvement in the methods of agriculture, for I know my limitations, and I want people to do all that they can do without any outside help. My only object is to abolish idleness, to help people to turn their time to good account, to prevent misfeeding and to stop all economic waste. The whole of my campaign for unpolished rice, for hand-ground

¹ The Government had proposed allotment of one crore of rupees to the provinces for the economic development and improvement of the rural areas in order to forestall Congress activities in the villages and had issued a confidential circular in this connection.

² This sentence is from a report in *The Hindustan Times*.

flour, for *gur*, for hand-pressed oil and for the economic disposal of carcasses should be looked at in that light.¹

The village uplift programme is not a new idea though the Congress, at its Bombay session recently, adopted it as one of the channels of its constructive programme of work.² I have spoken of it to the public during the last eight months.

Gandhiji spoke eloquently on the powers of *takli* and said that recently a spinner from Manchester had examined it and testified to its potentialities. The *takli* which once hardly exceeded the speed of a hundred yards per hour now operated at four hundred yards:

It is a marvellous thing and with intelligence applied to it it can produce an enormous change for the better.

Proceeding, Mahatmaji emphasized that the Village Industries Association had excluded politics from its ken.

Questioned as to the progress he had made in his work at Delhi Gandhiji said he was presently going slow in collecting materials and liked to see its great potentialities. The Spinners' Association had distributed one and a half crores of rupees among 160,000 people of which 120,000 were spinners, 24,000 washermen, and the rest weavers. From the competitive point of view there was no reason why the village industries meant to promote villagers' welfare should not hold their own against mechanized industries, provided it was clearly understood that village production was for its own consumption.

This policy had been recognized as economic even outside India and if followed would do great good to India. It was important not only from the general economic point of view but from other considerations so far as rice, wheat and sugar were concerned, for village products contained more vitamins and proteins whereas in industrialized products these were absent.

Harijan, 25-1-1935, and *The Hindustan Times*, 11-1-1935

¹ What follows is from *The Hindustan Times* report.

² In the circular the Government had described the Bombay session of the Congress as the greatest personal triumph of Gandhiji.

86. LETTER TO UMADEVI BAJAJ

January 11, 1935

OMI. OM,

When will you shed your lethargy? The handwriting in your letter was not as beautiful as pearls. Though the letter is long, you haven't given much news in it. I still feel that it would be better for you to go to Bombay once and consult an ear specialist. It is very cold here. We seem to be camping in a jungle, but we enjoy our stay. As I have to see many visitors, I cannot cope with my work.

Ask Madalasa to write to me. What does she eat? What is her weight?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Mehrtaj has forgotten you, me and everybody else. She is at Dr. Ansari's and enjoying herself.

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Babuke Ashiroad, pp. 340-1

87. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

DELHI,
January 12, 1935

JAMNALAL
BIRLA HOUSE
MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD
BOMBAY

JUST LEARNT SWARUPRANI UNCONSCIOUS. SEND FULL
DETAILS.

GANDHI

Panchven Putrako Babuke Ashiroad, p. 146

88. TO THE MILL-HANDS

DFLH,
January 13, 1935

I hope you will gladly welcome the compromise arrived at in the dispute that was going on regarding your wages. . . .¹ It will be in your interest to accept willingly the cut in your wages—that will enhance your credit too, I have no doubt about it. I do not consider it a small matter that the main principle of the policy which we wanted to adopt years ago has been accepted in this compromise. Now we have to make a scheme at our earliest convenience to implement it. I need not tell you that its success mostly depends on your pure intentions and conduct. The welfare of both the employees and the employers lies in the mill continuing to function. He who understands this will never find it difficult to understand this compromise. I have been telling you from the very beginning of our acquaintance that the industry exclusively belongs neither to the mill-owners nor to the labourers. The capital of the owners is money while yours is labour. Both of these are useless unless there is unity between the two. If you have grasped what I am saying you will realize that the good of both lies in this compromise. You will also know how much progress we have made and how near we are towards the realization of the dream that we had been cherishing all along. I therefore hope that all the sisters and brothers will unanimously accept the compromise.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Omission as in the source

89. A DISCUSSION

[Before January 14, 1935]¹

Your campaign² is taking away from the Missionary's popularity.

[GANDHIJI:] I see what you mean but I do not know why it should disturb them. We are not traders trenching on one another's province. If it is a matter of serving oneself, I should understand their attitude, but when it is entirely a matter of serving others, it should not worry them or me as to who serves them.

But, perhaps, the authorities in charge of a Mission hospital would rightly feel worried if you sent your people to go and open a hospital in the same place.

But they should understand that ours is a different mission. We do not go there to afford them simple medical relief or a knowledge of the three R's; our going to them is a small proof of our repentance and our assurance to them that we will not exploit them any more. I should never think of opening a hospital where there is already one; but if there is a Mission school, I should not mind opening another for Harijan children, and I would even encourage them to prefer our school to the other. Let us frankly understand the position. If the object is purely humanitarian, purely that of carrying education where there is none, they should be thankful that someone whose obvious duty it is to put his own house in order wakes up to a sense of his duty. But my trouble is that the Missionary friends do not bring to bear on their work a purely humanitarian spirit. Their object is to add more members to their fold, and that is why they are disturbed. The complaint which I have been making all these years is more than justified by what you say. Some of the friends of a Mission were the other day in high glee over the conversion to Christianity of a learned pandit. They have been dear friends, and so I told them that it was hardly proper to go into ecstasies over a man forsaking his religion. Today it is the case of a learned Hindu, tomorrow it may be that of an ignorant

¹ Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Notes", dated January 14, 1935

² Against untouchability

villager not knowing the principles of his religion. Why should Missionaries complain if I open a school which is more liked by Harijans than theirs? Is it not natural?

But does it mean that you would say the same thing about a Christian who embraces Hinduism?

I would. Here is Mirabehn. I would have her find all the spiritual comfort she needs from Christianity, and I should not dream of converting her to Hinduism, even if she wanted to do so. Today it is the case of a grown-up woman like her, tomorrow it may be that of a European child trusted to my care by a friend. Take the case of Khan Saheb's daughter entrusted to my care by her father. I should jealously educate her in her own faith and should strive my utmost against her being lured away from it if ever she was so inclined. I have had the privilege of having children and grown-up persons of other faiths with me. I was thankful to find them better Christians, Mussalmans, Parsis or Jews by their contact with me.

But if it was a pure case of conscience?

I am no keeper of anybody's conscience, but I do feel that it argues some sort of weakness on the part of a person who easily declares his or her failure to derive comfort from the faith in which he or she is born.

Harijan, 25-1-1935

90. FOREWORD TO "TWO SERVANTS OF GOD"

DELHI,

January 14, 1935

Though I had always longed for it, I was never able to be with Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan for any length of time before the closing months of last year. Good fortune, however, brought me not only the younger brother but also the elder, Dr. Khan Saheb, very soon after their discharge from Hazaribagh prison. As luck would have it, they were under orders not to enter the Frontier Province till 28th December last. They were under discipline not to offer Civil Disobedience. And so they accepted the hospitality of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj in Wardha. I was thus privileged to come in intimate touch with the brothers. The more I knew them the more attracted I felt towards them. I was struck by their transparent sincerity, frankness and utmost simplicity.

I observed, too, that they had come to believe in truth and non-violence, not as a policy but as a creed. The younger brother, I found, was consumed with deep religious fervour. His was not a narrow creed. I found him to be a universalist. His politics, if he had any, were derived from his religion. The Doctor had no politics. This privileged contact led me to the conclusion that the brothers were much misunderstood. I, therefore, asked Mahadev Desai to note all he could from them of their lives and prepare for the public a sketch introducing them as men. He was to leave politics alone and avoid criticism of the Government. The result is this character-sketch. Let the reader judge whether the brothers' claim to be known as simple *Khudai Khidmatgars* (i.e., Servants of God) is vindicated by the following pages, assuming that they give an accurate and truthful recital of the events of their lives as the brothers gave them to Mahadev Desai.

M. K. GANDHI

Two Servants of God

91. LETTER TO NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

January 14, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

Your article has been simply waiting for my note on it. Your postcard has therefore come in time. I am glad you have reconsidered your position. You can publish your notes of the interview if you send it to me first for revision.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

Delhi till 23rd inst.

SHRI NIRMAL K. BOSE
6/1A BR. INDIAN STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: G.N. 10518 and 10521

92. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

January 14, 1935

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I understand why you will not be able to come. It is desirable that you should stay on there till the doctors permit you to leave. Do not overstrain yourself.

Ramdas feels that Manilal¹ is not very eager that the former should continue to stay at Manibhuvan². It is best, therefore, that he should leave the place. He wishes to rent a separate room for himself and has asked for Rs. 25 as rent for it. I think we should let him have it. I know that all this is wrong. But Ramdas's illness is of such a nature that in his case wrong seems right. I do not know how far a father's love is misleading me in this matter. If you disapprove of this demand of Ramdas, by all means tell him so. You earned the privilege of doing so many years ago. Do what seems proper to you.

I understand what you say about Swaruprani. Sarup wires to me from time to time.

I must stay on here till the 25th at any rate, although we must leave here latest by the 28th.

Rajaji is coming tomorrow with Lakshmi.

Do you see Jayaprakash?

Blessings from
BAFU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2951

¹ Son of Revashanker Jagjivan Jhaveri

² Revashanker Jhaveri's house in Bombay

93. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

January 14, 1935

CHI. LILAVATI,

I have your letter. You are economizing very well. You must no more fall ill. Accept Narandas's advice in matters of food, studies, etc. I obviously cannot guide you from this distance. Always remember that fruits of patience are sweet.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9330. Also C.W. 6605. Courtesy: Lilavati Asar

94. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

January 14, 1935

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your three letters. I had asked Mahadev to reply to the first. I understand about Aunt¹. I shall be happy if she feels satisfied. It was good that the leg was operated on. Send me separately the figure of the expenditure incurred on this treatment. Pay the money from the balance of the Ashram funds with you. I think the monthly allowance is paid by Bchcharlal. Am I right? I have a faint impression that it is so. Inquire and let me know. Is Aunt calm? Does Manu go to help her? Is Phuli² there? Does she faithfully follow her dharma? If we understand the real meaning of illness, it is a test of the person who is ill as also of his neighbours and relations. If God had ordered an even life for all, who would have tested whom? Who is Dr. Jadavrai?

Blessings from

BAPU

¹ Raliatbehn

² Daughter of Raliatbehn.

[PS.]

There was nothing serious with my feet. The skin had cracked because I had been careless during the cold. Stopping walks and proper care of the wound have cured it.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8427. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

95. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

January 14, 1935

CHI. SHARMA,

We were both awaiting your letter. It has come just in time. You did well in renting a new house. I have seen the account of your expenses. The amount spent on postage is perfectly justified. You need not reply to anyone. Your notice published in *Harijan*¹ has been reproduced in many newspapers. Some have even written to me on the subject.

I cannot say when I shall leave here but I am booked for a three days' tour of the countryside after the 20th. Afterwards I rush off to Wardha.

What is the rent of the new house? Have you taken it on lease? I shall understand things better when you come here. Draupadi and the children too will come, I suppose.

Ramdas is in Bombay.

I have not understood what you say about borrowing Rs. 200 on mortgage. Who has mortgaged whose house, and why?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: *Bapuki Chhayamen Mere Jivants Solah Varsha*, between pp. 142 and 143

¹ Dated December 14, 1934

96. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

January 15, 1935

CHI. GANGABEHN,

This, being hand-made paper, is more expensive than ordinary paper and I, therefore, use it economically. Since I started using it, consumption of paper has gone down to one half, just as consumption of khadi cloth has gone down to one-tenth or even lower than that. Everything indigenous is always cheaper in the end. I am writing with a reed pen.

You are a keen observer. Examine everything in your surroundings carefully. Every article of food and clothing must, as far as possible, be indigenous.

Learn to eat fresh leaves uncooked, to drink milk without boiling it, to use wheat flour without sifting it and rice without polishing it. If you learn only this and no more and teach the villagers to do likewise, crores of rupees will be saved.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 84. Also C.W. 8817. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

97. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

DELHI,

January 16, 1935

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your letter yesterday. I am writing this reply the first thing in the morning, that is at 3.15.

If it is your own wish to help Chandubhai, do so with pleasure. I have no right to stop altruistic actions. Pay him whatever sum you wish to without expecting that it will be returned. No one would be at fault if it is not returned. Business is like that. Sometimes the dice throw is in one's favour and then it goes on; and when it is not, it persists against one. But then can we know what is good and what is bad for us?

Don't therefore hesitate to do what your own *atman* bids you do. The inclination to give away is always worth cultivating. Do we really own what we regard as our own?

Don't believe what you might hear regarding my feet or any other newspaper stories. Great men's boils become magnified into tumours. We should therefore give no thought to the boils of mahatmas. I am as well as I was in Wardha. I shall be leaving behind a bad tooth! Or maybe it returns with me. I may leave here on the 25th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9392. Also C.W. 637. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

98. LETTER TO MARGARETE SPIEGEL

January 16, 1935

CHI, AMALA,

I have your letter. The only thing for treating chilblain is to keep the affected parts warm, even to the exclusion of open-air exercise. The newspapers are too amusing. You must not put any faith in what you read in the newspapers, especially about events in the life of mahatmas. Their pimples are turned into carbuncles and a simple headache becomes a sign of hastening end¹. . .

I am glad you like Santiniketan so well and the people in it. I am glad too that you are adding Bengali to your knowledge of languages. You should ask Indira to write to me. Get her mother's address in Almora and write to her mother that you are teaching Indira French. How many girls are you nursing? What are they suffering from? What is your time-table? Are you cooking your own food or are you taking only bread, raw vegetables and milk? If you are taking raw vegetables, what are they?

Love.

BAPU

Spiegel Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ The letter being damaged here, one sentence following this is illegible.

99. LETTER TO MADALASA BAJAJ

January 16, 1935

CHI, MADALASA,

I have your letter. It is surprising that your weight is not increasing. But that does not matter. Since you are all right in other respects, leave things as they are. Milking cows is very good work indeed which you have started. I hope you drink the milk as soon as it is extracted.

Is the vessel kept quite clean? Do you wash the udders first with a solution of potassium permanganate and then with clean water? Do you wash your hands before milking?

Do you rub the cow's body gently with a gunny-bag? Do you feed the cow yourself with your own hands? This is really good work which you have started doing. Write to me again.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 316

100. LETTER TO HARIBHAU PHATAR

DELHI,

[January 17, 1935]¹

MY DEAR HARIBHAU,

I have your letter. I can't remember the letter you are referring to. It is just likely that the tremendous pressure at which I am dealing with my correspondence has put your letter out of my mind and it is lying buried in the heap before me.

I have not said that there should be no propaganda. Propaganda there must be. I have said, and I still maintain, that there should be no paid propaganda or if there is, there ought to be a separate collection about it. It is the business of *savarna* Hindus to organize such propaganda. Therefore funds

¹ The source has '17-1-1934' which is evidently a slip. In January, 1934 Gandhi was on tour in the South.

should be raised, if funds are necessary, earmarked for that purpose. My own impression is that paid propaganda creates no effect whatsoever. We conduct schools and hostels with a definite object, which is to discharge the obligation we owe to the Harijans. It is wholly different in scope, therefore, from the establishment of schools, etc., under the old regime. Every school we open is a fresh nail in the coffin of untouchability, and having travelled all over India in that cause you will let me judge the result. It is therefore that I have said that the opening of schools and hostels [is]¹ the best propaganda for conducting the campaign against untouchability. We have plenty of money; but where are the schoolmasters to be had? *Savarna* schoolmasters are not to be picked up in the streets. Now, reverse the process. If you utilize 90 per cent of the funds for propaganda and reserve 10 per cent for schools, how will you measure the success you would have attained in the conversion of *savarna* Hindus as we are able to measure the result by the number of schools and hostels that we succeed in opening and conducting? Daily I have letters from Harijans complaining of our spending money for purposes other than opening schools, hostels and the like. I have no letter from anywhere complaining that we do not carry on enough propaganda. Yours is the first letter received by me. In Maharashtra I do not know what you will do in the matter of propaganda even if the whole of the collections were to be used by you for propaganda work. Show me a programme and I am prepared to examine it on its own merits. I have no bias. One way or the other, my sole concern is to see that untouchability is removed. I wonder if I have made my point perfectly clear. If not, you must write again developing your views.

The complaint you make about the composition of the Maharashtra Provincial Board is, of course, your own speciality. It has nothing to do with propaganda. You have simply to get Deodhar to give you a minimum of time or ask him to retire in favour of one who can give the time, or have him as the ornamental head but have a Vice-Chairman who would conduct the proceedings and actually organize the work from month to month, and even from day to day. If you suggest any such Vice-President, I will discuss the thing with Thakkar Bapa in the first instance.

Now about mill rice and hand-pounded rice. When you say that mill-pounded polished rice is [not] dearer than hand-pounded,

¹ The source has 'are'.

I know that there is a flaw in your statement. Hand-pounded rice is as much polished as mill-pounded polished rice. You have to test the thing for yourself. If you will take hand-pounded unpolished rice, it would be any day and everywhere cheaper than mill-polished rice when we compare the prices of unpolished mill-pounded rice and unpolished hand-pounded. But you will never have the mills to produce unpolished rice in large quantities. From the health standpoint, I have universal medical testimony that mill-pounded unpolished rice suffers in vitamin when compared with hand-pounded unpolished rice. To remove the outermost husk is a very simple and expeditious process. It is the polishing process by the hand which sends up the price of labour which I obliterate in my calculation because I do not want to go beyond the process of removing the outermost husk. Make the investigation for yourself and then give me the prices. You are not the only person who have committed the error if you have committed it. It is most natural because we have never investigated these processes nor have we ever troubled to know the distinction between polished and unpolished rice. Unpolished rice is a most beautiful grain. It is either yellow, red or dark white, never white like the polished rice. The red variety is the best, and sweet to taste, and cheaper withal. I opened out one grain from the paddy and showed to those around me the full unpolished grain. I had not seen it before. But in a heap of half-polished rice I saw a whole paddy grain. I immediately removed the husk with my finger nails. Out came the beautiful red grain from its husk. I would defy anyone to show that such unpolished rice is dearer than mill-polished rice. Test again for your satisfaction and then tell me if you still claim to be right in your supposition that polished rice is cheaper than hand-pounded unpolished rice.

Yours,
BAFU

SHRI HARIBHAU PHATAK
62 SADASHIV PETE
POONA CITY

From a photostat: G.N. 1374

101. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

January 17, 1935

MY DEAR SISTER,

I must dictate if I am to write to you at all today. You must not overwork yourself. You must give yourself proper rest and build up your body to the extent it is possible. As a confirmed believer in the natural mode of living, I think that we can rebuild shattered bodies by conforming to the laws of nature. Very often I have known persons who have succeeded in getting better where medical assistance has failed. This is no reflection on the doctor brother.

I hope you got copies of the A.I.V.I.A. constitution and have sent in your form to Kumarappa.

I would like the Raizada to convince me that it is proper for ourselves to prosecute poor Harijans for breach of the Sarda Act. In the mean time, I am certain, we must not undertake these prosecutions. Prosecutions must be preceded by educative propaganda.

Love.

BAFU

From the original: C.W. 3519. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6328

102. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

January 17, 1935

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your letter and the children's. Tangai¹ is a wise girl and so she has learnt to resign herself to the sorrows that come to her.² The spirit of resignation is bad when sorrows come out of our conscious errors; but when they come for reasons we do not know and cannot know, resignation is the proper thing. In other words, constant endeavour and surrender to the will of God have to go hand in hand.

¹ Addressee's daughter

² *Vide* the following item.

Your description of your visit to Porto Novo and Maria's losing herself in her work is very good.

My feet won't let me walk, because immediately I try, the crack reopens.

C. F. Andrews could not write to you as he had no time whatsoever. It was touch-and-go whether he would be able to catch the steamer he did.

Both A.I.S.A. and A.I.V.I.A. are absolutely non-political associations.

You must come to Wardha some day. Delhi is too far for you. What is Menon being paid for hospital work? We leave here, at the latest, on the 28th instant. We have been passing through a very severe spell of cold weather.

Love.

BAPU

MRS. ESTHER MENON

"THE VISION"

TANJORE (S. INDIA)

From a photostat. Courtesy: National Archives of India. Also *My Dear Child*, p. 110

103. LETTER TO TANGAI MENON

January 17, 1935

MY DEAR TANGAI,

You are a very brave girl cheerfully going through the illness you get from time to time. You must ask Daddy this question: 'Why do I get these sores when you are yourself a doctor? You should find a way of helping me.' I hope you are much better now.

Love and kisses.

BAPU

My Dear Child, p. 121

104. LETTER TO NAN MENON

January 17, 1935

MY DEAR NAN,

You have written a very good letter in good steady hand. You were quite right in wishing me a Happy [New] Year because you wrote your letter on the 27th December. But there is no use now in my returning the wish, for the New Year is well on its way.

You must tell me how you felt when you began your spinning on the new wheel. Do you know how to spin on the *takli*?

Love and kisses.

BAPU

My Dear Child, p. 121

105. LETTER TO MURIEL LESTER

January 18, 1935

MY DEAR MURIEL,

You have been moving from place to place with such rapidity that I have not known where to send you my letters. Hence my silence.

I believe that I have received all the letters you have written—not more than four, not less than three. Of three I have a distinct recollection.

I have forwarded your cheque to Thakkar Bapa for Harijan funds.

I am dictating this letter in Delhi where I have come in order to pass a few days at the Harijan Home for which Shri Ghanshyamdas Birla has donated 20 acres of land costing Rs. 30,000. I am living on that piece of ground. I expect to return to Wardha on the 28th instant, at the latest.

You see I have not yet gone to jail, and you can depend upon my not forcing the pace. My application for permission to go to the Frontier Province has been turned down. That, of course, is not the last word.

Even if you do not hear from me, you have to continue to write.

Love from us all.

BAPU

MISS MURIEL LESTER
LONDON

From a photostat: G.N. 6562

106. LETTER TO DUNICHAND

DELHI,

January 18, 1935

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND,

I have your letter with the enclosure. I have glanced through it. It was unnecessary, in my opinion, to publish it. Dr. Satyapal needs no defence from you; and if he does, I think your letter has spoiled his case. Public workers have to possess the hide of a rhinoceros. They cannot afford to be sensitive to the extent of being thin-skinned. But I must confess to you that though I have not talked to more than two or three persons and that too when the talk became relevant, I have laid the blame of the Punjab defeats at Dr. Satyapal's door. His inexhaustible energy, courage and suffering are undeniable. But he has a knack of often estranging good people from him. I intended to talk to him about it, but unfortunately he went to jail before I could do so. It is my opinion that if Dr. Satyapal had been wise and judicious, not one of the Punjab seats would have been lost.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

LALA DUNICHAND, B.A.
KRIPA NIVAS
AMBALA CITY

From a photostat: G.N. 5592

107. LETTER TO JAGDISH SHASTRI

January 19, 1935

BEHAI JAGDISH SHASTRI,

A list of the chapters of the essay on cow-protection is enclosed herewith. You can add to it, you may even change the order.

1. Origin of cow-protection.
2. The position in the Vedic Age.
3. The position in the Age of the *Smritis*.
4. The position in the Age of the Epics.
5. The attitude of other religions.
6. Origin of dispute with the Muslims.
7. Is cow-protection an essential feature of Hinduism? If it is, then what does it signify? Does the tradition date back to the ancient times? Difference between the attitudes of the Arya Samajists and sanatanists and its critical appreciation.
8. The present position—census of goshalas. Difference between Jain *pinjarapoles* and Marwari goshalas and feasibility of cow-protection through them.

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

108. SPEECH AT SANSI BASTI, DELHI

January 19, 1935

I had promised to Thakkar Bapa that I would visit this Harijan Colony some time for half an hour. Today I have the opportunity to come here. It is deplorable that first Hindu society has sinned against these Sansi brethren, regarding them as untouchables and then the Government on its part has declared them a criminal tribe. It is a matter of shame for us Hindus that because of negligence on our part these people were left without work, and since they must make a living some of them adopted crime as a profession. But not every one of them is a criminal, nor can it be so. Nevertheless the whole community came to be called a criminal tribe. I would ask the Sansi brethren to eschew the evil that has crept into their midst due to our indifference. You should give up

drink and gambling, and carrion too, if anyone takes it. You should also give up stealing, etc., so that you can be recommended for exemption from reporting at police stations. May God grant you the good sense to follow my advice.

[From Hindi]

Harijansevak, 25-1-1935

109. DISCUSSION WITH A DONOR

HARIJAN HOME, DELHI,
January 19, 1935¹

He was taken upstairs as soon as Gandhiji was free to see him. The neatly dressed old man placed before Gandhiji ten neatly arranged wads of currency notes and said: "This is for the poorest and the most deserving. You know them better than anyone else."

[GANDHIJI:] That's very good. But how many years' savings does this mean?

Many years. But I sent a hundred for the earthquake and a hundred to Assam, and in Allahabad four years ago I gave Rs. 500 for the peasants.

Oh, then tell me what was your salary and what is your pension? And what were you?

I was a schoolmaster. When I retired after many years' service, my salary was Rs. 52 a month. I get no pension, but I was given a gratuity of Rs. 2,700.

And how long ago did you retire?

Five years ago.

And how much do you spend on your own living?

Oh, my living! Hardly much.

But still one has to live. Tell me how much you need.

A little *dal-roti* does not cost much. I can do with Rs. 10 a month. I have no one to take care of. I used to have nephews whom I supported and educated, but now I am free. I have also a Sanskrit school to which I devote most of my time now. It is a free school.

¹ According to Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Notes", from which this has been extracted, the discussion took place on the day on which Gandhiji spoke at Jamia Millia; *vide* the following item.

So you saved a few thousands out of your small salary and have been devoting it to the service of the poor. A great thing. How I wish everyone could learn the art from you.

Yes, Mahatmaji, I have spent very little on myself and I have often been able to give away what I had to the poor.

Admiring his padded clothing, which did not need to be supplemented by shawls or blankets, Gandhiji asked: And where did you get this khadi?

It is home-made khadi.

You make me envy you.

"I have still some savings left, Mahatmaji," said the old man, his face suffused with the joy of giving. "I shall bring all that, some other time. I do not know where to give the money. I know you, and you know the poorest who deserve help. I am deeply thankful."

Harijan, 1-2-1935

110. SPEECH AT JAMIA MILLIA, DELHI¹

January 19, 1935²

I do not know whether, while you listened to the story unfolded by the Begum Saheba, you were, like me, drawing a comparison between the history of Turkey and India. I could not fail to draw many a parallel between the two stories. No birth comes without agony, and as I listened to the story, not yet finished by the speaker, and not yet finished in action, I found that all is in the melting pot, all is transitory in this transitory world. One could not say what would be the end of the world in which Turkey and India were but insignificant spots. But it is best to know that what matters to India and to everybody is his or her own individual action. For we must know that true history is not the history of kings and dynasties, but of individual men and women in general. Some who died in utter neglect and misery were great heroes and heroines, not great kings, however big the empires they had founded and whatever the destruction they wrought on the face of the earth.³

¹ Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Notes". Gandhiji presided over the lectures delivered by Halida Edib Hanum on January 18 and 19, 1935.

² From *Gandhijini Dinwari*

³ *The Hindustan Times*, 20-1-1935 reports Gandhiji as having said: "Those who die in utter distress and suffering are the real heroes and heroines and not the monarchs and kings, however high their empires might be."

The history of man and woman is still in the making. What are a thousand or even a million years in the limitless cycle of time? They are but a speck, and as I listened to the story of Turkey, I derived hope that, if we modelled our action according to the Right and nothing but the Right, there would be nothing but a bright future for us all.

There is an indissoluble tie that binds India to Turkey, not because we have suffered alike, but because Turkey has a Muslim population which has so much in common with India because of her millions of Muslims, who are flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood and bone of our bone. May Begum Saheba's coming in our midst result in binding Hindus and Muslims in an indissoluble bond.

Harijan, 1-2-1935

111. LETTER TO ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

DELHI,
January 20, 1935

BHAI ANAND SWARUP¹,

Do come, except on Monday. You will be shown the new way of plying the *takli*. I shall give you a few minutes if possible. It takes half an hour to teach the new way to those who bring their own *takli*. Afterwards it is only a matter of practice. You can come on or before the 27th.

M. K. GANDHI

SHRI ANAND SWARUP
VAISHYA SCHOOL
MEERUT, U. P.

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 9744. Courtesy: Anand Swarup Gupta

¹ Assistant Director, Purana Department, Ramnagar, Varanasi

112. DISCUSSION WITH EDITH HOWE-MARTYN

[Before January 21, 1935]¹

She talked of her experience of the British slums and put in a strong plea for the "poor woman" who had to submit to the strong man.

[GANDHI:] There is no *poor* woman. Poor woman is mightier than man, and I am quite prepared to demonstrate it to you if you come to the villages of India. Any woman there would tell you that, if she did not want it, there was no man born of woman who could compel her. I can say this from my own experience in relation to my wife, and mine is no solitary instance. If the will to die rather than to yield is there, no monster can make the woman yield. No, it is a mutual affair. Men and women both are a mixture of the brute and the divine, and if we can subdue the brute, it is well and good.

But what is the woman to do, if the man for the sake of not having more children goes to another woman?

So now you are shifting your own ground. If you misconceive your premises, you are bound to come to wrong conclusions. Don't assume things and try to unman man and unwoman woman. Let me understand the basis of your gospel. When I said your birth-control propaganda was sufficient introduction, there was some seriousness behind the joke, for I know that there are some men and women who think that in birth-control lies our salvation. Let me, therefore, understand the basis from you.

I do not see in it the salvation of the world, but what I say is that without some form of birth-control there is no salvation. You would do it in one way, I would do it in another. I advocate your method as well, but not in all cases. You seem to regard a beautiful function as something objectionable. Two animals are nearest to the divine when they are going to create new life. There is something very beautiful in the act.

Here again you are labouring under a confusion. The creation of a new life is nearest the divine, I agree. All I want is

¹ Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Notes", dated January 21, 1938. The interviewer was a birth-control enthusiast from England.

that one should approach that act in a divine way. That is to say, man and woman must come together with no other desire than that of creating a new life. But if they come together merely to have a fond embrace, they are nearest the devil. Man unfortunately forgets that he is nearest the divine, hankers after the brute instinct in himself and becomes less than the brute.

But why must you cast aspersion on the brute?

I do not. The brute fulfils the law of his own nature. The lion in his majesty is a noble creature and he has a perfect right to eat me up, but I have none to develop paws and pounce upon you. Then I lower myself and become worse than the brute.

I am sorry. I have expressed myself very badly. I confess that in a majority of cases it is not going to be their salvation, but a factor which will conduce to higher life. You understand what I mean, though I am afraid I have not been able to make myself quite clear.

Oh, no. I do not want to take any undue advantage of you. But I want you to understand my view-point. Do not run away with misconceptions. Man must choose either of the two courses, the upward or the downward, but as he has the brute in him, he will more easily choose the downward course than the upward, especially when the downward course is presented to him in a beautiful garb. Man easily capitulates when sin is presented in the garb of virtue, and that is what Marie Stopes¹ and others are doing. If I were to popularize the religion of indulgence, I know that men would simply clutch at it. I know that, if people like you in selfless zeal cried themselves hoarse upholding your doctrine, you might even ride to apparent victory, but I also know that you will ride to certain death, of course totally unconscious of the mischief you are doing. The downward instinct requires no advocacy, no argument. It is there embodied in them, and unless you regulate and control it, there is danger of disease and pestilence.

Mrs. Howe-Martyn, who until now seemed to accept the distinction between the divine and the devilish, contended that there was really none and that they were much more allied than people imagined.

So you think the devil and the divine are the same? Do you believe in the sun? And if you do, don't you think you must believe in the shadow?

¹ English advocate of birth-control; author of *Contraception: Its Theory, History and Practice* and various other works on sex and marriage

Why should you call 'shadow' devil?

You may call it 'no-God', if you like.

I do not think there is no-God in the shadow. There is life everywhere.

There is a thing like absence of life. Do you know that Hindus will reduce the body of the dearest one to ashes as soon as life in it is extinct? There is an essential unity in all life, but there is diversity, too, and one has to penetrate it and find the unity behind—but not by intellect, as you are trying to do. Where there is truth, there must be untruth; where there is light, there must be shadow. You cannot realize the wider consciousness, unless you subordinate completely reason and intellect, and the body, too.

Mrs. Howe-Martyn looked puzzled, and time was fast running against her. But Gandhiji said:

No. I am prepared to give you more time. But for that you must come to Wardha and stay with me. I am as great an enthusiast as you, and you must not leave India until you have converted me or converted yourself.

Harijan, 1-2-1935

113. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

HARIJAN HOME, DELHI,
January 21, 1935

DEAR SISTER,

I have sent in your application to Kumarappa. You shall be your own judge as to the enforcement of rules 9 and 10¹ in your own person. What I expect you to do is not a visit to every village in your district, but acquisition of a right knowledge of the villagers' wants and organization of the effort to meet them. For this you are fully fitted in spite of your dilapidated body of which we must talk when we meet.

I leave on 28th which is my silence day. Come if you easily can between 26 and 27.

¹ Framed under bye-law 10 of the All-India Village Industries Association; *vide* pp. 10-3.

The cold spell has meant more than the loss of a crore of rupees for the starving millions.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 3520. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur

114. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

January 21, 1935

I see no harm in going. I think you should discuss everything but making it clear that you have no mandate¹. You could only convey the purport of the conversations to the Committee² and its decision. It should be strictly understood that though you would meet as representatives, the talks must be regarded as informal till they reach the stage of some concrete proposal to be discussed by the respective committees. At the end of the conversations the agreed purport should be reduced to writing and no report should be given to the Press of the conversation.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

115. LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI

January 21, 1935

Give my kind regards to the Nawab Saheb and tell him that I am still paying the penalty of having said that when I found you in your surroundings I was reminded of the great Omar.³

There is talk of communal peace, but I fear there is no time yet. It can come only out of a heart unity and we must wait for it. No patched-up peace can last.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

¹ As Congress President the addressee was to negotiate with M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, "for an agreed settlement between the communities which could replace the so-called Communal Award". The talks started on January 23 and continued with a short break up to March 1, but without any tangible result.

² Congress Working Committee

³ It is not clear whether any portion of the letter has been left out here.

116. LETTER TO KHALIQ

January 21, 1935

There seems to be nothing in the coming interview¹ between Jinnah and Rajenbabu. Let us have real unity, even if we have to wait. In the Assembly much will depend upon the correct behaviour of Congressmen on every occasion.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

117. LETTER TO G. V. MAVALANKAR

January 21, 1935

BHAI MAVALANKAR,

I have your letter and the papers pertaining to the Vidya-pith's books. I cannot swallow your opinion. But I regard my opinion as of no worth.

Do invite Sardar to join both the organizations. I shall also speak about it tomorrow, if, that is, I don't forget. Do as you think proper about the finances. On my part I have relieved myself of the worry after I had your letter. By all means do pay from the Gujarat Sabha's funds to compensate for the loss caused by frost. If you still need my sanction, send me a draft.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. GANESH VASUDEV MAVALANKAR
ADVOCATE
BHADRA, AHMEDABAD

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 1242



¹ *Vide* "Letter to Rajendra Prasad", p. 98.

118. LETTER TO PADMA

January 21, 1935

CHI. PADMA¹,

I have your letter after many days. You never acknowledge mine. The itch is a disease contracted through carelessness and unhygienic habits. How did you get it and how could it become aggravated in this season?

I have not seen any of Father's articles. He had sent me [some] many months ago. So much frost has since accumulated.

You have not given an account of your activities. Does Father do anything besides writing articles?

We shall leave Delhi on the 28th.

*Blessings from
BAPU*

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6150. Also C.W. 3506. Courtesy: Prabhudas Gandhi

119. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

January 21, 1935

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. You can certainly stay with Gangabehn. I should like it if you settled there. Yes, your visit to Madras is still to come off. Ambujam's Ashram is ready. She expects you there. Go to Bochasan when you return from there. You may like to go to Madras *via* Wardha. I expect to reach Wardha on the 29th.

How did Gangabehn's finger come to have abscess?

I hope Ramniklal² has recovered his strength. Let him write to me when he feels impelled. How is Tara³?

*Blessings from
BAPU*

¹ Daughter of Sitla Sahai, an ashram inmate from U.P. and an active worker of the All-India Spinners' Association

² Ramniklal Modi, an ashram inmate

³ Wife of Ramniklal Modi

[PS.]

I just got word about the arrival of the parcel of ink. I shall write about it after examining it.

SMT. VASUMATIBEHN

HARIJAN ASHRAM

SABARMATI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9391. Also C.W. 636. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

120. LETTER TO JETHALAL G. SAMPAT

January 21, 1935

CHI. JETHALAL,

I disposed of your letter soon. We are bound to have such experiences. When you are all right, write to me from time to time about the developments. For the present at any rate let us not take the matter to the Press. I have suggested to Jamnalalji to solve the question at a domestic level. Let me know if anything has happened since then. Keep Jamnalalji also informed about it. Even if the police do not give us the number, we may answer them as often as they may ask us. In my first year while I was travelling by a train from Delhi to Madras, they came to question me seven or eight times. Since I looked like a fakir, there was no question of their enquiring about my name, although they would persistently ask for my ticket number. When I reached Madras their vehicle would invariably follow mine. Others used to be annoyed; I was only amused. The law says that people are in duty bound to give their name, address, etc., to the police as often as they might ask for them. When we are fighting we may do anything that the rules permit.

How is your work going on otherwise? Have you done anything regarding [village] industries?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am writing this from Delhi. Reply to Wardha.

From Gujarati: C.W. 9848. Courtesy: Narayan J. Sampat

121. INTERVIEW TO UNITED PRESS¹

January 21, 1935

QUESTION: When do you think you will be able to give an actual start to the work of the Village Industries Association?

GANDHIJI: It is difficult to say what is meant by "start". But if by it is meant actual work through different agencies in villages, I am unable to fix the exact date, because we are moving very cautiously—cautiously in the sense that we do not want to make any mistakes so long as it is possible to avoid them—because of the varied nature of the work to be done. This work is like sailing on an uncharted sea.

The Central Board is meeting in Wardha on the 1st of the next month, when perhaps a definite step will be taken. Meanwhile, not a moment has been lost. We have been collecting valuable information, and we are having promises of support from many quarters.

Q. Do you intend to start branches of the Association in all the provinces simultaneously, or do you intend to make a beginning in a few selected places? Which will be the headquarters of the Association? Will a branch be established here before you leave?

G. We aim at having no branches, but agencies all over India, the ideal being to have as many agents as there are villages, so as to ensure perfect distribution of work. The secret of success of this effort lies in decentralization. I do not know if an agency will be formally established in Delhi before I leave. But I am collecting all the information that is available. The final appointment will be made by the Central Board. The headquarters are in Wardha, where Seth Jamnalalji has given a valuable garden with a large bungalow in it, and he has promised more land, if it is required for subsequent arrangements.

Q. Is the Association likely to depend on its unaided strength for all information, statistical or otherwise, in respect of the dead or dying industries you seek to revive, or will it invite the co-operation of all official and non-official agencies operating in India at present?

¹ The report of the interview was revised by Gandhiji.

G. The Association will do nothing unaided, so vast is the work to be done. Therefore it will invite and receive co-operation of all agencies, not excluding the official agencies.

Q. Will the Association seek to revive only those industries whose revival is not reasonably calculated to come in conflict with the various world economic and commercial forces now acting and reacting on India; or will the Association try to revive the dead industries irrespective of such considerations and merely because in their ancient flourishing condition they used to give food to millions of villages?

G. The Association will certainly seek to revive and encourage as many industries as are necessary for the moral and material growth of village life. It will not be deterred by the so-called conflicting world forces.

Q. It is generally agreed that the cotton mills of India have not taken very kindly to the khadi industry. If the Association attempts to resuscitate those dead, dying or unorganized industries which are likely to clash with the interests of more organized, indigenous industries, is it not your apprehension that the Association will meet with opposition?

G. It is likely that the Association will meet with opposition from mechanized industries, such as sugar-mills, rice-mills and flour mills. It is for us to find a way out of the difficulty. I have every hope that we shall be able to overcome these difficulties.

Q. Take, for instance, the question of sugar *versus* gur. Sugar is a protected industry and is now fairly well-organized. It was stated in the Press some time ago that the Association will try to increase the consumption of gur. If it is true, do you not think that by doing so it will evoke the opposition of the sugar industry?

G. That may be so. If the consumption of gur increases and the consumption of sugar decreases, it would be a blessing for India, because medical testimony goes to show that gur is superior to sugar in nutritive value; and it is the business of the Association, as also of the public, to see to it that no mechanized industry is allowed to interfere with the health of the people.

Q. May I have your views on whether or not the Association should supplement the existing large-scale industries, without antagonizing them?

G. The answer to it has already been given.

Q. Am I wrong in suggesting that, from the resuscitation of dead village industries, such as you contemplate, to the industrialization of India on human, rational and intelligent lines (as opposed to greedy capitalism), it is but a step?

G. I do not know if a vast country like India, with her millions of people having four months of enforced idleness on their hand, can afford to have large-scale industries and yet live a life of tolerable comfort. . . . Large-scale, centralized industries in India, except such industries as cannot be possibly carried on in villages, must mean starvation of millions, unless honourable employment is found for the displaced millions.

Q. If what the Press says about the Government circulars¹ forestalling the activities of the Village Industries Association is true, do you think there is any chance of the Association coming in conflict with the Government?

G. There is no possibility of the Association coming in conflict with Government, because the ideal that the Association has set before it appears to me to be different from that of the Government effort if I have understood it rightly, except, perhaps, in the matter of sanitation. We should certainly not take up the work of sanitation in villages where the Government agencies might be doing it.

There is no idea whatsoever to supplant the Government agency. It may be to supplement the work.

Q. I suppose you have read the Government circular.

G. Yes.

Q. You must have noticed that the Government suspect that through this Association you will have greater opportunities of coming in closer contact with the villages, which you will utilize to prepare for organizing civil disobedience on a far more gigantic scale.

G. It never crossed my mind; I have never worked it in that indirect fashion. It would defeat the very end that I have in view. I want the material and moral growth of the villages for itself, and if it is achieved, it would be a full satisfaction of my ambition.

Similarly, if ever I should have to organize civil disobedience, it would be organized independently of any other activity. If full effect is given to the word "civil", all this suspicion should be dispelled. But I have patience enough, and I am convinced that, if what I have said is true, all the suspicion will be dispelled without any further effort on my part.

Q. I would ask another question. You said that you could show a miracle if Government understood the spirit of your village industries scheme and lent its help to you. What do you mean by help? Is it financial assistance?

¹ *Vide* "Interview to the Press", pp. 72-3.

g. I simply say that, if Government understand the secret of my methods and give me complete co-operation in the work I am doing, I undertake to show miracles. I do not want financial co-operation. I want moral, enthusiastic endorsement from Government.

The Hindustan Times, 22-1-1935, and *Harijan*, 8-2-1935

122. LETTER TO R.¹

January 22, 1935

CHI. R.,

Panditji² writes to me that you have exceeded all limits. You have been incurring debts in spite of your good income and you also steal. You behave as it pleases your own sweet will. If all this is true, it is painful. You would remember what I had told you in Bombay. You had taken a pledge before me not to practise deceit—do you remember?

Panditji is likely to reach there in a day or two. Wake up from your swoon and see that you do not tarnish Panditji's reputation and that of the Ashram. Remember your promises. Satisfy Panditji.

Write to me in detail. Wrongdoing is not as great a sin as trying to hide it. We all sin but one who confesses and wipes it away is sure to be blessed. It is enough if one undoes the wrong that one might have committed.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

¹ The name has been omitted.

² The addressee's father

123. QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS¹

[About January 23, 1935]²

I have been asked by Sir S. Radhakrishnan to answer the following three questions:

- (1) What is your religion?
- (2) How are you led to it?
- (3) What is its bearing on social life?

My religion is Hinduism which, for me, is religion of humanity and includes the best of all the religions known to me.

I take it that the present tense in the second question has been purposely used instead of the past. I am being led to my religion through Truth and Non-violence, i.e., love in the broadest sense. I often describe my religion as religion of Truth. Of late, instead of saying God is Truth I have been saying Truth is God, in order more fully to define my religion. I used at one time to know by heart the thousand names of God which a booklet in Hinduism gives in verse form and which perhaps tens of thousands recite every morning. But nowadays nothing so completely describes my God as Truth. Denial of God we have known. Denial of Truth we have not known³. The most ignorant among mankind have some truth in them. We are all sparks of Truth. The sum total of these sparks is indescribable, as-yet-Unknown Truth, which is God. I am being daily led nearer to it by constant prayer.

The bearing of this religion on social life is, or has to be, seen in one's daily social contact. To be true to such religion one has to lose oneself in continuous and continuing service of all life. Realization of Truth is impossible without a complete merging of oneself in and identification with this limitless ocean of life. Hence, for me, there is no escape from social service; there is no happiness on earth beyond or apart from it. Social service here must be taken to include every department of life.

¹ The questions and answers have also been reproduced in F. Mary Barr's *Bapu*, International Book House, Bombay, 1949, with slight variations.

² According to Mary Barr Radhakrishnan's questions came at the time when Gandhiji was about to set out on a village tour from Delhi where he was camping. This Gandhiji did on January 23, 1935.

³ Mary Barr's version does not include this sentence and the one preceding.

In this scheme there is nothing low, nothing high. For all is¹ one, though we *seem*² to be many.

Contemporary Indian Philosophy, p. 21

124. LETTER TO KANTI GANDHI

January 23, 1935

CHI. KANTI,

I got your letter yesterday evening. Devdas had told me nothing earlier. Yesterday I asked him about it and learnt that he had told me nothing because he had wished to spare me. He had spoken to Mahadev yesterday morning. I have passed on your letter to Devdas so that he can study it in the context of your earlier letters and guide me accordingly. Since Mahadev had come to know everything before I did he will read this. He has not read your letter received yesterday. Have no fears about your letters. No one will read anything surreptitiously without my permission. Nor have I around me anyone who would do such a thing. But I do wish you would learn to shed this reserve soon. This reserve is an obstruction to your progress. But then I would of course not insist on it.

The alliance you contemplate is not a great shock to me. I shall surely not be shocked if you choose your partner from Kerala. I have only to examine the reason for your choice. We have to think whether you can do anything staying in Ramachandran's house. It is not proper to decide this question or your future programme on the basis of your letter. It no doubt involves some expense but I wish you to come to Wardha and see me. I shall arrive there on the 29th evening. It will do if you come on the morning of the same day. This letter will reach you only on Saturday morning, not leaving you much time. You have no reason to be uneasy. I am not likely to forsake you. I trust you. You have found the noble company of Maganbhai, Kaka, etc. You have respect for Devdas. You yearn for my blessings. All will surely be well with you. I am writing this before the prayers.

Blessings from

BAPU³

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.W. 7292 Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

¹ "Are" in Mary Barr's version

² Mary Barr has "may seem".

³ This is followed by the instructions: "No one but Mahadev may read this. Kaka may."

125. LETTER TO VITHAL L. PHADKE

January 23, 1935

BHAI MAMA,

Shouldn't we say that you are but a luckless fellow? I had your letters all right and I had also replied to them. The answer to your first is Congress; the second I had asked Mahadev to answer. As I am short of time and so that you may have it promptly here is my answer to your third. Your treatment should consist of water-cure, hip-bath, sitz-bath; but in your diet you should have milk, uncooked vegetables and wheat. The sun-bath should be had with full exposure of the body. And rest. Your health must improve. How is Saheb? I discontinued my [daily] walks because I developed cracks on the skin of my feet owing to the cold and partly also owing to carelessness on my part. I am better now and the cold too had abated.

...¹ will stay on in Madras for some time now.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. MAMASAHEB

[C/o] SJT. DESHPANDESAHEB

AT THE BARRISTER'S, SHANKAR TEKDI, BARODA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3828

126. HOW TO BEGIN?

Correspondents have been writing, and friends have been seeing me, to ask me how to begin the village industries work and what to do first.

The obvious answer is, "Begin with yourself and do first that which is easiest for you to do."

This answer, however, does not satisfy the enquirers. Let me, therefore, be more explicit.

¹ The source is illegible here, but presumably it was "Kaka"; *vide* "Letter to Narahari D. Parikh", pp. 113-4.

Each person can examine all the articles of food, clothing and other things that he uses from day to day and replace foreign makes or city makes by those produced by the villagers in their homes or fields with the simple inexpensive tools they can easily handle and mend. This replacement will be itself an education of great value and a solid beginning. The next step will be opened out to him of itself. For instance, say, the beginner has been hitherto using a tooth-brush made in a Bombay factory. He wants to replace it with a village brush. He is advised to use a *babul* twig. If he has weak teeth or is toothless, he has to crush one end of it, with a rounded stone or a hammer, on a hard surface. The other end he slits with a knife and uses the halves as tongue-scrapers. He will find these brushes to be cheaper and much cleaner than the very unhygienic factory-made tooth-brush. The city-made tooth-powder he naturally replaces with equal parts of clean, finely-ground wood-charcoal and clean salt. He will replace mill-cloth with village-spun khadi, and mill-husked rice with hand-husked, unpolished rice, and white sugar with village-made *gur*. These I have taken merely as samples already mentioned in these columns. I have mentioned them again to deal with the difficulties that have been mentioned by those who have been discussing the question with me. Some say, with reference to rice for instance, 'Hand-husked rice is much dearer than mill-husked rice.' Others say, 'The art of hand-husking is forgotten, and there are no huskers to be found.' Yet others say, 'We never get mill-husked rice in our parts. We can supply hand-husked rice at 19 seers to the rupee.' All these are right and all are wrong. They are right so far as their own experience in their own district is concerned. All are wrong because the real truth is unknown to them. I am daily gathering startling experiences. All this comes from beginning with oneself. The following is the result of my observations to date.

Whole, unpolished rice is unprocurable in the bazaars. It is beautiful to look at and rich and sweet to the taste. Mills can never compete with this unpolished rice. It is husked in a simple manner. Most of the paddy can be husked in a light *chakki* without difficulty. There are some varieties the husk of which is not separated by grinding. The best way of treating such paddy is to boil it first and then separate the chaff from the grain. This rice, it is said, is most nutritious and, naturally, the cheapest. In the villages, if they husk their own paddy, it must always be cheaper for the peasants than the corresponding mill-husked rice, whether polished or unpolished. The majority of rice found

ordinarily in the bazaars is always more or less polished, whether hand-husked or mill-husked. Wholly unpolished rice is always hand-husked and is every time cheaper than the mill-husked rice, the variety being the same.

Subject to further research, the observations so far show that it is because of our criminal negligence that rice-eating millions eat deteriorated rice and pay a heavy price into the bargain. Let the village worker test the truth of these observations for himself. It won't be a bad beginning.

Next week I must take up *gur* and other articles of diet and another part of village work.

Harijan, 25-1-1935

127. HIS ECONOMIC FAITH

Professor Sam Higginbottom, Director of the Agricultural Institute, Allahabad, and a member of the Board of Advisers of the All-India Village Industries Association, writes in the course of a letter:¹

I enunciate my economic faith which is at the base of all my economic and spiritual efforts for India.

The two primary factors of production are land and labour. These are united or married, and the offspring is all material things needful and desirable for man's physical well-being. We call it 'capital'.

Capital is the offspring of the union of land and labour. India has land and labour in great abundance. Both need wise use and guidance to be most beneficial to India. This they have lacked very largely up to the present. Hence I stress the training of village workers who will not waste all their time complaining of what they do not have, and, therefore, get discouraged and beaten at the start; but workers who will take the village as it is, with all its resources or lack of them, and, by making better use of the existing resources and the potential resources that are within the present financial grasp of the villager, create, with the land and their labour, the capital within the village suited to the village needs. This is a long, slow, educative process that means hard work, but certain success. . . .

The details of the programme will include proper use of all village wastes for soil enrichment; the prevention of erosion; the right system of rotation of crops; the selection of better seed, methods and implements;

¹ Only extracts are reproduced here.

cattle improvement through selective breeding and proper feeding; co-operation for purchasing and marketing of village products, for road improvement; development of existing village industries that process village products and, wherever necessary, the introduction of new village industries to round out the village life.

There is a great deal in this with which every lover of the movement for the restoration of village life to its proper status must heartily agree.

Harijan, 25-1-1935

128. NOTES

ANOTHER HARIJAN-SEVAK GONE

Acharya Gidwani was a staunch Harijan-sevak. He was deeply interested in Harijan work. He was bringing up a Harijan girl as a member of his own family. With him there was none low, none high. Love of Harijan service was an integral part of his nature. I had known him fight for Harijans when he first came to me. He never hesitated whenever the call to service came. Such servants of humanity never die. They live through their service. The deceased leaves a brave widow and a large family. I tender them my respectful sympathy.

CREDIT v. CASH

The question repeatedly arises in the management of the numerous khadi bhandars of the All-India Spinners' Association whether khadi should be sold on credit. For years past I have held the opinion that it is a wrong principle to have credit sales in businesses conducted on purely philanthropic lines. Such philanthropic management should be able to teach the public that credit sales mean an advance upon the prices that would be asked for cash sales. Only such sales can become an index of public patronage of a business run on philanthropic lines. I have found in the end that, whilst there may be some heart-burning in the beginning, there is a decided advantage. Philanthropy has to be detached from immediate results. It has got to work on simple, unchallengeable faith. I would, therefore, strongly advise all managers of stalls under the All-India Spinners' Association and allied organizations, and the All-India Village Industries Association, which will be presently at work, to adhere to the principle of cash sales, and elimination of credit altogether.

Harijan, 25-1-1935

129. *LETTER TO HALIDE EDIB HANUM*

DELHI,
January 25, 1935

DEAREST SISTER,

Prof. Malkani just brings me the news of your loss. I know that death has no terror for you. You regard it as a firm friend. I do not therefore send you any condolences. But if you are in need of a companion at this moment, then you know that you are to count me as one among many who would be silently sharing with you whatever it may be called—grief, separation, loss, etc. I do not come to pay a ceremonial visit. Prof. Malkani takes this note and being a valued worker represents me.

Love.

M. K. GANDHI

BEGUM SAHEB HALIDE EDIB
DARYAGANJ

From a photostat: G.N. 911

130. *LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA*

January 26, 1935

DEAR KUMARAPPA,

You know that I am bringing w[ith] me a large party. Ba, Mirabehn, Mahadev, Manu, Devraj, Balwantsingh (new), Rajkishori (new), possibly one or two more. We must see how the thing is to be managed. My account must not be mixed up with the Industries Association. It will have to be a separate department so far as the expenses are concerned.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10107

131. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

January 26, 1935

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have your letter. Khan Saheb is here today. I read out your telegram to him. You must have received the long telegram of blessings which he sent after reading it. You appear to be specializing in arranging marriages. This marriage will be remembered as a historical event. Poor Sophia could never have thought that she would marry a Pathan. Nor could Saadulla have imagined that he would marry a Khoja girl. I like your selection very much. Both will be happy and Sophia will be able to do public work as much as she wishes. All of us will reach Wardha on Tuesday. There will be no new face in our party. A nice girl engaged to Chand Tyagi's Balbir is with us. Both Marys will get down at Betul.

It seems that Sardar, Rajaji and Rajenbabu will have to stay on till February 8. The discussion on the Bill will be over by then.

Kamalnayan has become impatient to go to Ceylon but he should wait for some time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2952

132. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

January 26, 1935

CHI. NARAHARI,

I have not been able to reply to your letters. It would do if Shankarlal collects the sum due from Ambalalbhair under dairy account. Examine carefully how much the dues amount to and let me know the figure too.

You may if you wish start a tannery. Would you like to take on an expert Chamar? I shall see if I can persuade Surendra to take the training. Obtain the Trustees' sanction for the double loss sustained by the dairy.

It would be worth while to have the Trust-deed executed.
I expect to reach Wardha on the 29th.

Kaka¹ is still in Madras and will stay on for two months if not more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9068

133. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

January 26, 1935

OH! VALJI,

I have your letter. Why this distress over your resignation?² If we cannot cope with a thing and have to leave it as a matter of dharma, should we be happy or unhappy about it?

Didn't this idea of willingly leaving office come from you? You may, if you wish, continue to hold the office of secretary, such as it is, for the present. Leave it if you feel it is your dharma to do so. I shall not take any steps till your reply comes.

Chitre is still with me and I have a wish to take him to Wardha. His cough persists. He had a temperature too which has since returned to normal. I got your article.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

What you write about Jagadish Shastri is not what happened. I had respected your opinion.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7469. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

134. ACHARYA GIDWANI MEMORIAL

Acharya Gidwani's death has left a void among good workers in the Harijan cause. It is not one which can be easily filled. Acharya Gidwani made no distinction whatever between high and low. He never believed in exclusiveness as between Harijans and non-Harijans. He was a born worker. For the last few years, he had a Harijan girl in his house brought up as his own daughter.

¹ D. B. Kalelkar

² *Vide* "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", p. 116.

This is not the occasion to describe his other services. His capacity for renunciation was very great. He was the first Principal of the Gujarat Vidyapith. He had the knack of stealing the hearts of his students. In order to perpetuate his sacred memory, the Gidwani Memorial Fund is being instituted under the chairmanship of Shri Parikshitlal Majmudar. Shrimati Indumati Chimanlal, Shri Vadilal Lallubhai Mehta and Shri Jethalal Jivanlal Gandhi are its secretaries. It is my hope that one and all will help to raise a good sum. The fund which was collected when Acharya Gidwani left Gujarat, was used for the service of Harijans. I hope it will be the same again. I think no other use of the amount would give his soul the same satisfaction.

Contributions should be sent to Harijan Ashram, Sabarmati or Congress House, Bhadra, Ahmedabad, or Navajivan Karyalaya, Gandhi Road, Ahmedabad.

[From Gujarati]

Harijanbandhu, 27-1-1935

135. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

January 27, 1935

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have your letter. Why is your ear not behaving? What reason does the doctor give? Do you need a change to a dry climate? Are you regular in your food and exercise and rest? Write in detail to me at Wardha. It does not matter if you can not go to Wardha for the present. We shall make do with correspondence.

Vallabhbhai, Raja, etc., will have to stay on here for the time being. Your two meetings will therefore stand postponed. Send for Shankerlal and dispose of the important matters pertaining to the Charkha Sangh.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2953

136. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

January 27, 1935

CHI. VASUMATI,

You will not give me your programme and then throw the responsibility on me. I had sent a reply to your letter at Bochasan all right. For the present you have to go to Madras. After that you can join Gangabehn at your pleasure. You should go to Madras *via* Wardha.

I am writing to Chandubhai about the ink.

Write to me in detail about your experiences.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

We shall reach Wardha on Tuesday.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9393. Also C.W. 638. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

137. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

DELHI,

January 27, 1935

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. Read the accompanying letter and give it to Keshu. This match seems good to me if you all approve it. Whatever the final decision, inform me at Wardha immediately.

Let me know what changes you noticed in this year's budget for the dairy.

Valji has sent in his resignation as Secretary because he doesn't have the necessary knowledge for looking after the dairy and the tannery and is not inclined to take the trouble to acquire it.

Kanu is happy here. Panditji is here just now and Kanu is even learning a little music with his help and English with Marybehn's help. Since his needs are few and simple, he gets along all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8428. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

138. SPEECH AT M.L.A.S' MEETING, DELHI

January 27, 1935

Facing the mild afternoon sun, Mahatma Gandhi referred to the twin legislations sought to be promoted in the last Assembly, and said:

As regards the Temple-entry Bill, this need not be pursued at the present moment, because obviously public opinion must be sufficiently cultivated in its favour. The Harijan workers are doing this, the mass mind of the Hindu is passively in favour of it. Yet the intelligentsia among sanatanists, especially the pundits, are still against it.

In a matter of this kind, they could not force the pace by a majority of votes alone. Those interested in the subject might meanwhile make a special study of the subject.

As for the Removal of Untouchability Bill, Mahatma Gandhi advised, this could be pursued to the end. It concerned the civic rights of the Harijans and so could be taken by all legislators, whether Hindus, Mussalmans or others. Even if the whole body of Hindu opinion were to be against the removal of untouchability, still he would advise a secular legislature like the Assembly not to tolerate that attitude, for in this matter there was no interference with religious rights or religious observance, but simply the removal of untouchability from the statute law of this country. Take for instance the use of public wells which was the sorest point with the Harijans. Cattle could approach these wells and tanks, but not the Harijans. It bordered on inhumanity when it was known that in Rajputana thousands of rupees had to be spent for boring wells, and yet there the Harijans were not allowed to use them. Similarly about schools. He could quote chapter and verse on this matter. There was the Bill promoted by Mr. M. R. Jayakar² and another Bill recently drafted by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari. Such a Bill could be further elucidated and amended, if necessary, but it should be pursued as quickly as possible. It was the bounden duty of the Hindus, after the resolution passed³ by the Conference in Bombay under the chairmanship of Malaviyaji, to support a Bill of this kind and for the Hindu members of the Assembly to actively pursue it.

¹ Held in the Harijan Colony, Kingsway Camp. Thirty-five M. L. A.s attended the meeting at the invitation of G. D. Birla.

² Published in *Harijan*, 18-2-1933; *vide* also Vol. LIII, p. 329.

³ On September 25, 1932, *vide* Vol. LI, p. 139.

The services of Harijan Sevak Sangh would be available to the members in this matter.

There were other directions in which the Assembly could help in the Harijan welfare. No doubt provincial Governments were wide awake and trying to do several things for the Harijans. The activities of the Harijan Sabha perhaps stimulated their efforts. All that was for the good of the Harijans. The Harijans should take aid from whatever quarter it came, provided it in no way compromised their essential interests. But the Government could give only according to regulations and no more. The Harijan Sevak Sangh however was not bound by such restrictions.

The Assembly was a fit enough body for exercising legitimate pressure upon the Government to see that funds were allotted for the purpose of the Harijan uplift. This could be done perhaps by moving a resolution. They could also consult Mr. M. C. Rajah and give him any help he might require.

Lastly, Mahatma Gandhi referred to the cruel treatment of the Harijans in certain parts of India recently. He instanced a case of recent assault by zamindars in Meerut on the Harijans over the *begar* (forced labour) question in which one Harijan was reported to have died. There was yet another report of tragedy from Cawnpore the full facts of which are not known yet. Then there was the ancient quarrel in Chettinad between the Nattars and the Harijans, the latter of whom were not allowed to wear the cloth they liked. Some of the Nattars were very unreasonable and tried to defend their attitude on the ground of custom. On these and other instances of cruel treatment, the Assembly members might put questions and try to do something.¹

The Hindustan Times, 28-1-1935

139. ADVICE TO STUDENTS²

DELHI,

[Before January 28, 1935]

We propose doing medical work there. How shall we go about our business, Mahatmaji? Could you give us some hints?

GANDHIJI: I have experience of this work since my early days in South Africa. Let me then begin with a warning. By

¹ A brief discussion followed in which Asaf Ali, C. Rajagopalachari, S. Satyamurti, K. Nageswara Rao and others took part.

² Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Notes", 28-1-1935. Prof. Winsor of St. Stephen's College along with a dozen students had called on Gandhiji one evening.

taking a little medical aid to them, you do not really help them. You must teach them sanitation and hygiene, which alone can prevent malaria. Quinine does seem to subdue malaria, but will not root it out. What is essential is the preventive treatment and the after-care of patients. They do not know that careless diet often prepares the breeding ground for malaria germs. They eat anything and everything. But a malaria patient must eschew starch, too much protein, and live mainly on milk during convalescence. That is what you have to tell them. Teach them how to prevent disease. I will not congratulate you if you tell me that you have distributed a thousand quinine pills. Give them practical lessons in sanitation if you can. Go there with spades and shovels, fill up stagnant pools, see to the drainage, see that their wells are properly dredged and that their tank is not contaminated. The late Principal Rudra, under whose hospitable roof I have had the privilege of living, used to tell me how Delhi had fought a successful battle against the swamps and mosquito-breeding pools around Delhi. We have now to teach the people to do what the municipality or the local boards may not do, for want of funds or any other reason.

Above all, teach them to rid their village of filth and dirt. It is the most difficult part of your work, unless you would be willing scavengers. For days you must sweep the streets and teach them to preserve health and conserve their golden manure at one and the same time. Poore's *Rural Hygiene* used to be a precious little book on this subject. You have to teach them to bury their night-soil in nine-inch deep pits and cover it up with earth, the principle being that such earth is full of life and that the sun's rays penetrate that depth. In a little while the whole will be converted into rich manure, and you can grow the finest vegetables on this ground.

I had better tell you about internal hygiene, too. You must study the problem of food from the point of view of health; know the foods charged with vitamins and persuade them to eat hand-husked unpolished rice, whole wheatmeal, whole sugar, greens grown on their own patch of ground, and oil fresh-pressed in the village oil-press. Every doctor nowadays insists on prescribing a few green leaves to be eaten raw. Every peasant could grow all kinds of *bhaji* for nothing and eat it raw as part of his normal diet. It was discovered during the War that compressed and dried vegetables were harmful and that, not lime-juice, but the juice pressed out of fresh limes, was the preventive of scurvy.

We are very thankful. Could you tell us what we should teach in a little Harijan school we are running?

All that I have told you. Let me assure you that education in three R's is as nothing compared to a sound grounding in the elements of hygiene and sanitation. I happened to see a number of Harijan girls learning in a Daryaganj school. As soon as I saw them, my eyes caught sight of their dirty nails, dirtier noses and dirt-accumulating little trinkets on their noses and their ears. This thing had apparently never struck the good woman who was in charge of them. Teach them first the lessons of cleanliness. Literary training by itself is not of much account. Take care of the essentials I have told you. Remember that unlettered persons have found no difficulty in ruling over large States. President Kruger could hardly sign his own name. Teach them the three R's by all means, but don't make a fetish of them.

One more question. We have a little Cold Weather Fund. How are we to find the most deserving folk for this?

Well, hand it over to me or to the Harijan Sevak Sangh.

No. We would administer it ourselves.

Well, then, go to the slums of the city, seek out the poorest and give them.

To the slums?

Certainly. Surely not the Viceregal quarters, for you will find the stables there warmer and cleaner and more comfortable than our hovels. No, you need not go very far. You will find people around you wanting the things which you can spare and they most need. Mirabeen, for instance, noticed that the *chowkidar* here was shivering in the cold. She gave him her blanket, as Dr. Ansari had given her his shawl in England.

But, Sir, sometimes these people pretend to be poor when they are not. How are we to find out the *bona-fide* cases?

So you must be God! Pray don't think you have a monopoly of honesty.

Concentrate on one village—Wazirabad;¹ make it a model village and then ask me to come and inspect your work. Take my blessings and come to me later on for my certificate.

Harijan, 8-2-1935

¹ Prof. Winsor and the students had done relief work in Wazirabad after the floods the previous year.

140. DISCUSSION WITH A SHROFF¹

[Before January 28, 1935]

"My heart's desire is fulfilled", he uttered in ecstasy and gave the hundred-rupee note and yarn to Gandhiji. Gandhiji asked him:

What are you doing? I remember to have seen you before. Where have you come from?

[S.] I am coming from Madras. I am doing nothing. I am happy taking your name.

[G.] But if you are doing nothing, where did you get the hundred rupees from?

Oh, Mahatmaji, I have something more.

Then, why not give that, too?

He pulled out another hundred-rupee note and handed it to me.

But let me know what you are doing?

I was a shroff. But I am one no longer. I divided the property between my three sons and am now free, free to do your work. Have me as your scavenger, I want nothing else.

So you divided all the property between your sons and left no share for me?

Oh, no. Everything is yours. I had thought of bringing a thousand rupees for you. My son did give thousand rupees, but he did so reluctantly. He had lost something this year and would not cheerfully part with a big amount. I said: 'Take back half of it, and send it to me when I ask for it.'

And with this he took out all the rest of the notes and gave them to me. Laughing heartily Gandhiji said:

But how will you go back? Keep something for your fare.

No. I can send a telegram for money. I do not need anything. Take it all, Mahatmaji, it is all yours.

What do you propose to do now?

Nothing. Have me as your humblest servant. If not, let me stay here a couple of days and then I will go to my home in Rajputana.

¹ Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Notes", 28-1-1935

Gandhiji gave instructions for putting him up and gently said:

Mahadev, return to him all the notes. How can we take all that? Or have one and return the rest.

"Nonsense," said the proud donor. "I will not touch again what I have given. Mahatmaji, believe me, all is yours. I wanted to bring a thousand, but could not."

If you will give me all I want, give me a crore.

I will, but I must send the *hundi* to God, and if I were saint Narasinha Mehta, God might cash it.

Well, well, I wish all Marwaris were like you. You are giving me *all* you have, whereas millionaires give me a paltry hundred or a thousand.

Gandhiji said, in childlike mirth, which he simply could not repress:

But, why not, why not ask your sons also to give me something? Why must they enjoy their wealth?

They will give, you may be sure. I have still kept some silver. It is yours. Naught is mine. All my desires have had their full fruition today, now that I have seen you and touched your feet.

Harijan, 8-2-1935

141. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

January 28, 1935

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

I got your letter. It will satisfy me if you spend three pice¹ once every month. Spend as much time with Nathji as necessary. It will not have been wasted. You are not going to be scared because the work in the villages is new to you, just as we are not to be discouraged whether the eleven vows² are new or old. We will not see the shore till we learn to be content with whatever the villages offer to meet our needs.

¹ For writing a postcard to Gandhiji

² Observed in the Ashram; they were of non-violence, truth, non-stealing, *brahmacharya*, non-possession, body labour, control of the palate, fearlessness, religious tolerance, *swadeshi*, removal of untouchability. *Vide* Vol. XXXVI, pp. 398-401.

Tell Gangabehn that the work of dispensing medicine is not the end of our journey. Our destination is farther. She should write to me when she is ready.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. RAMNIKLAL MODI
SATYAGRAHA CAMP
BOCHASAN, *via* ANAND
B.B. & C.I. RLY.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4182

142. *LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH*

January 28, 1935

CHI. NARAHARI,

I have your letter. I shall obtain opinions on cow's milk and buffalo's. There is bad news from every place about the damage by frost. Are the papaya trees blighted or have we lost only the season's fruit? Does any one of us know about the kind that can withstand frost? Learn about it from the local agricultural department if it can be done without difficulty.

To what do you attribute the increase in the cow's milk?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9069

143. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

January 28, 1935

CHI. VASUMATI,

My letters appear to trail behind you. I am writing about the ink directly to Chandubhai.

You must get ready by the 10th February to go to Madras. You should earmark five years for Bochasan. I only wish you would settle somewhere.

Today we are leaving for Wardha.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. VASUMATIBEHN
C/o RASIKLAL BHOGILAL
VISNAGAR, *via* MEHSANA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9394. Also C.W. 639. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

144. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

January 28, 1935

CHI. VALJI,

As far as I can remember, I think I have already written about [enlargement of] the spleen. However, it may be that I had intended to but forgot to write. It is cured by giving the sufferer as little milk as possible together with juicy fruits. It is true that the doctors give a special medicine for it but I don't know how far it is effective. The dietetic experiment I mention is quite well-known. In children it is soon cured.

I have come to know Jagadish Shastri intimately. I have gone through the synopsis of the thesis he has written. I spoke to him about the opinions of Anandshankarbhai and Vaidya. The young man is fairly painstaking. I have suggested¹ to him to try to rewrite his thesis with a new approach along the lines suggested by me. I have rearranged the chapters for him, and I hope he will try to conform to the titles. I have also indicated sources from where he could obtain literature on the subject. Now let us see what Fate has in store—for mother cow and for us.

I got your articles. The one about Kagawa's² friend I have made shorter. I have pruned down a little the portion relating to the missionaries since that is not the subject of our journal.

I had not carried with me the article on cow-protection during the march³.

¹ *Vide* p. 91.

² Joseph Kagawa, a Japanese Christian missionary

³ The Dandi march in March-April, 1930; *Vide* Vol. XLIII.

How is your health nowadays? What is the condition of your eyes?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

We take the train to Wardha this evening. Chitre went to Hardwar yesterday.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7470. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

145. LETTER TO VIDYA A. HINGORANI

January 28, 1935

CHI. VIDYA,

I have your letter. You have not written anything about your health. You both have to live with Father and show him great affection. Is Anand fully restored? Write to Wardha. I shall continue to write to Gangabehn.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

146. ADVICE TO CONGRESSMEN¹

NAGPUR,
January 29, 1935

I insist on the industrial education of girls. That will make them independent. They will not have to depend on others if they are not married. If married, they can lend a helping hand at home. If widows, they can earn their own living.

The Hindu, 30-1-1935

¹ A large number of Congressmen met Gandhiji at the railway station when he passed through Nagpur en route to Wardha.

147. LETTER TO DINSHAW MEHTA

January [29]¹, 1935

MY DEAR DINSHAW,

I have not been able to reach your letter to Mahadev earlier. I do not know how I can make your appeal bear fruit. The only scheme that I can suggest for the financial management of the institution apart from its trust is your almost cent per cent success. But that does not depend purely upon skill. There must be the hand of God in it also. If He blesses you with success, that would be sufficient scheme. If He does not, nothing that you can do personally will avail. I know that this can give you little satisfaction. But what you call my mature judgment makes me say this without any hesitation.

I was grieved to hear about Khambhatta.² I hope that he is gaining ground quickly. Your advice for a radical change is certainly sound. He should surely adopt it. I entirely agree with you that he should leave Bombay at any cost. You can show this letter to him.

Please write to me at Wardha. This is being dictated on the train that is taking us to Wardha.

SRI D. K. MEHTA
THE NATURE CURE CLINIC
6 TODIWALLA ROAD, POONA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ The source has January 30. Gandhiji however was in the train on the 29th.

² Behramji Khambhatta; *vide* "Letter to Behramji Khambhatta", 30-1-1935.

148. LETTER TO HARIBHAU PHATAK

WARDHA,
January 29, 1935

MY DEAR HARIBHAU,

I have your postcard. Evidently you have not been reading *Harijan*. I have reproduced the testimony of Dr. Ansari and other doctors in its pages.¹ Medical testimony in favour of unpolished rice is universal. It is being eaten even now in Sambalpur and many parts of Bengal. Proof of the pudding is in the eating. You should try the thing yourself. You are quite right in saying that unpolished rice is harder to cook. But it is not harder to digest if it is well cooked. It must take longer to cook for the simple reason that unpolished rice contains organic salts and protein. Polished rice is practically starch. Starch always takes less time to cook. Unpolished rice is like unskinned pulses or vegetables. If you skin your dal and your vegetables they are easily cooked, but they are also less nutritious. A nutritious article takes a longer time to digest, as it must, but it is not on that account considered to be indigestible. If you say that you cannot eat the same quantity of unpolished rice as that of polished, you will be quite right. Our object, however, is not to fill the belly with as much as can be put into it, but to take a proper proportion of balanced foods. The habit of eating polished rice is waste of national health and wealth.

You will remember you sent me medical opinion which you thought was in favour of cow's milk in preference to buffalo's milk. I think I showed to you that the authority you sent was not conclusive. The authority in question merely showed that cow's milk was better for infants than buffalo's milk. I want decisive opinion in favour of cow's milk to buffalo's milk even for adults if that opinion can be honestly sustained.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1373

¹ *Vide* "Villagers' Hands", p. 33.

149. A LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

January 29, 1935

TO MY AMERICAN FRIENDS:

Sjt. Kodanda Rao has been in America for some time. He is a member of the Servants of India Society founded by the late G. K. Gokhale whom I have regarded and often described as my political guru. Sjt. Kodanda Rao was private secretary to the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri when he was appointed the Agent-General of Government of India in South Africa. He was editor of the *Servant of India* when he left for America. He is a moderate in politics and an ardent social reformer holding advanced views on many social problems. He rendered me great assistance whilst I was permitted to carry on the anti-untouchability movement from the Yeravda Prison. I have no doubt that he will receive a patient and courteous hearing wherever he goes. Any assistance rendered to him will be deeply appreciated by me.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 6299

150. LETTER TO G. SITARAMA SASTRY

January 29, 1935

MY DEAR SITARAMA SASTRY,

I had your three letters, two of which do not call for any answer. Have you sent Kumarappa your form duly filled in? If the experiment that is being made in the use of groundnut oil for lighting purposes is successful, it will have far-reaching consequences. I hope that whoever is carrying on the experiment will persevere in spite of failures. I am sorry that you could not collect much funds. But the absence of response ought not to cause any worry to you. You should simply cut your coat according to the cloth.

Yours,
BAPU

SHRI G. SITARAMA SASTRY
VINAYA ASHRAM
CHANDOLE P. O., GUNTUR DT.

From a copy: C.W. 9738

151. LETTER TO ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

January 29, 1935

DEAR KHAN SAHEB,

By the courtesy of the authorities I was able to get your prompt reply. I have now come to Wardha. Here I shall be for some time at least.

I was obliged to leave Mehrtaj with Dr. Khan Saheb in Delhi where he has taken a house for the Assembly session. Mrs. Khan Saheb has arrived. Both she and her daughter are quite well. Your letter was translated to Mehrtaj, but she will not come to Wardha. Her difficulty is this: She is so gentle and wants to be so appropriate that she would not take advantage of the facilities that are offered to her. She wants to live in Wardha as the others are living. She is physically and mentally unable to do so; and she won't live as she would like to although she knows that she has the fullest liberty to do so. In Mariam she has a companion of her age and habits. So she would not leave her. And she had become fast friends with Zohra¹ who has showered all her affection on Mehrtaj. She had under Dr. Ansari's roof all the little things to which she was accustomed and she had no hesitation in taking them, because the whole family also did as she was doing. It was, therefore, impossible for Mehrtaj to tear herself away from the surroundings she liked and return to those which she did not like². We all therefore felt that for the time being it was best to leave Mehrtaj with Dr. Khan Saheb. Urdu tuition will be provided for her. She has promised to write to me regularly. I hope that you will be satisfied with what I have done and that

¹ Daughter of Dr. M. A. Ansari

² *Vide* also "Letter to Jamnalal Bajaj", pp. 60-1.

you will not worry about her. After all, God acts through children as through grown-up people, and we can but try gently to lead girls like Mehrtaj who are still growing.

Nor need you be anxious about Ghani. We are doing everything that is possible in the circumstances. You will be pleased to know that through Jamnalalji's effort Sadullah Khan was engaged to Sofia Somji.¹ The engagement was announced on the 26th instant. We have all wired our blessings.² Sadullah is still in Bombay. Jamnalalji's ear is not yet quite healed. Granulations continue to form. He will have to be in Bombay yet another month. You will please send me any instructions you wish to about Mehrtaj and Ghani. Lali is also with Dr. Khan Saheb in Delhi. I shall let you know later what is fixed up for Lali.

KHAN SAHEB ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

B CLASS PRISONER

CENTRAL PRISON, SABARMATI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

152. LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL

January 29, 1935

DEAR MR. MAXWELL,

By your kindness I have now received a letter from Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan in reply to my letter, which you had kindly forwarded to him. Another letter is necessitated by Khan Saheb's reply, and exchange of letters may have to be continued before the matter of his children can be finally fixed up. I now enclose herewith my reply³ to Khan Saheb's letter which, I hope, will be delivered to him.

In the letter received from Khan Saheb there occur the following paragraphs:

The conditions here do not agree with me. If possible, I would like to be transferred to a Frontier Province or Punjab jail. Maybe that my health will improve as a result of the change.

There was a letter from Mrs. Dr. Khan Saheb to the Superintendent of the jail, for an interview with me. I wonder why those people

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Jamnalal Bajaj", p. 113.

² The telegram is not traceable.

³ *Vide* the preceding item.

did not afterwards turn up here. If Dr. Khan Saheb should come and see me, I shall tell him all about Mehrtaj.

I wonder if Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan will be or can be transferred to a Frontier Province or Punjab jail. May Dr. Khan Saheb or any of his relatives see Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan in the jail?

*I am,
Yours sincerely,*

Encl. 1

R. M. MAXWELL, Esq.
SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

153. LETTER TO ABDUL GHANI

January 29, 1935

MY DEAR GHANI,

I have your letter. For the time being, you will draw what money you need from Rameshwar.

Here is a free translation of a letter I have received from Father. Just now Father's dream about his children cannot be fully realized. As you will see from a copy of my letter¹ to Father, Mehrtaj won't be educated as Father wants. Dr. Khan Saheb will do the best that is possible. Her natural inclination is to be where Dr. Khan Saheb is. I have, therefore, left her and Lali with the Doctor in Delhi. Lali will probably go to Dehra Dun. You are now the one who can, if you will, carry out Khan Saheb's wishes. But there can be no compulsion, whether for you or for any other. I hope you will do the best you can to come up to Khan Saheb's expectations.

You should send me regular letters, so that when I write business letters to Father, I can incorporate portions from yours.

ABDUL GHANI
HINDUSTAN SUGAR MILLS
GOLA GOKARANNATH

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ *Vide* pp. 129-30.

154. LETTER TO M. FARZAND ALI KHAN

January 29, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I was pleased to listen to you yesterday during my silence. So far as the Congress constitution is concerned, I can do very little in the matter. But I am of opinion that the Working Committee of the Congress will not favour any scheme of relaxing the constitution. The requirements are surely minimum.

As for the reflection cast upon the Ahmadiya community by Ahrars¹, I have absolutely no knowledge about it. If they have indulged in the language you brought to my notice, it is most unfortunate. I exercise no influence over them. Would it not be better for you to mention this matter to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad or to Dr. Ansari?

Yours sincerely,

M. FARZAND ALI KHAN
HOME SECRETARY TO
HIS HOLINESS HAZRAT KHALIFA-TUL-MASIH
QADIAN (PUNJAB)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

155. LETTER TO J. S. NAYAK

January 29, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I wish you could realize that your letter was written in anger. Every consideration was shown to you. Just imagine what would be my fate if everyone was to be allowed to sit near me whenever he liked. There are so many inquisitive souls today that

¹ Belonging to Majlis-i-Ahrar, a nationalist Muslim party

I would not be able to satisfy their desire even if I sat in front of them for twenty-four hours.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI J. S. NAYAK, B.A., B.L.
RAHMAN MANZIL, NICHOLSON ROAD
CASHMERE GATE, DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

156. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

January 29, 1935

DEAR MOTIBABU,

I had your long letter. Surely I did not want you to give so much time to my letter. Of course, I understand you. There was nothing by way of complaint in my letter, and you may be sure that nobody has complained to me about the Prabartak Sangh. If I had written to you on the basis of any such complaint, I would have certainly given you the name or at least told you that I had such a complaint. What I wrote arose solely from your own letter. My view about debts remains unaltered. I think we who are immersed in the service of humanity have got to be more cautious than ordinary businessmen in dealing with finance. But I must not lengthen out this argument. I know that you will do whatever appeals to your inner self.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI MOTILAL ROY
PRABARTAK BHAVAN
61 BOWBAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

157. LETTER TO R. V. SASTRI

January 29, 1935

MY DEAR SASTRI,

I have not read your long report about Ganesan. But Mahadev has given me its contents. I propose to read the whole of it myself. Thakkar Bapa has read it. Here is a copy of my letter¹ to Ganesan. I want you to act with decision and firmness. We have to help Ganesan against himself. I have a very weak corner for him. But he is incorrigible about financial transactions. He must not be supported.

I am anxiously awaiting your letter about *Harijan*. I now find that by re-transferring it to Poona it is possible to save Rs.2,400 per year—not a small thing; and if the estimate is correct, it will be sinful if we incur the additional expense of Rs. 2,400 per year for the luxury of publishing it in Madras. If you think it worth while to come down to Wardha for this purpose, you could do so. I am writing freely and briefly to you in this matter because I rely upon your capacity to look at things philosophically and detachedly, even where you are yourself concerned.

You should finish off arrears of matter left over even though you may have to print a double number. We cannot afford to have much arrears. And now that the scope of *Harijan* is extended, demand on the space will be greater than before.

Encl. 1

SHRI R. V. SASTRI

MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ This is not traceable.

158. LETTER TO R. S. VIDYARTHI

January 29, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I am not interested in talkies industry. I have never attended a cinema in my life. I know [what] a harm it has done. Many of my friends tell me that it has an educative value. I can neither prove nor disprove that assertion.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI R. S. VIDYARTHI
ANAND MATH
LUCKNOW

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

159. LETTER TO K. KRISHNA MENON

January 29, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter regarding the Panchama Night School in your neighbourhood. You should produce a certificate for efficiency from the Secretary of the Kerala Harijan Sevak Sangh and the Branch's inability to help the School, and then make an application to the Central Board for help. If it is worthy of help, I doubt not that the application will be fully considered by the Board.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI K. KRISHNA MENON, B.A.
COOTIPURAM P. O.
SOUTH MALABAR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

160. LETTER TO RAYUDU RANGAIAH

January 29, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I do not understand the burden of your complaint. You have made general statements. I would ask you to discuss whatever you have with Sjt. Bapineedu, Secretary of the local Sangh.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI RAYUDU RANGAIAH GARU
PRESIDENT

WEST GODAVARY DISTRICT

ADI-ANDHRA ASSOCIATION, ELLORE (W.GODAVARY Dt.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

161. LETTER TO SECRETARY, THE NEW INDUSTRIAL
AND COMMERCIAL EDUCATION SOCIETY

January 29, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Your scheme does not make any appeal to me.

Yours sincerely,

SECRETARY

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL
EDUCATION SOCIETY

99 LAXMI ROAD, POONA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

162. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

January 29, 1935

DEAR THAKKAR BAPA,

I could not reach yesterday the letter about Kodanda Rao. I could only therefore dictate it today in the train and get it posted in the train. I was dead busy with visitors coming in even during my silence. All writing, therefore, had to be stopped at 10 o'clock. My consolation, however, lies in the fact that this letter¹ will reach you well in time to catch this week's ocean mail.

I have already written² to Ganesan and Sastri. Copies of my letters herewith.

Encl. 3

SJT. A. V. THAKKAR

DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

163. LETTER TO J. AWASTHI

WARDHA,
January 30, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I like your plain words. Of course, if it is not the same plate that was auctioned by me, you are entirely absolved. I am now asking for the return of the plate to you.

Yours sincerely,

SRI J. AWASTHI

BRIJ NIVAS

NEW GANESHGANJ, LUCKNOW

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ *Vide* "A Letter of Introduction", p. 128.

² *Vide* "Letter to R. V. Sastri", p. 134.

164. LETTER TO THE EDITOR, "NISPRUHA"

January 30, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your printed appeal. Here is my message.

"I regard Abhyankar's death as a personal loss for the simple reason that I had come to prize his association more and more, and I had great hopes of his rendering some signal service to the country. But God had willed otherwise."

Yours sincerely,

THE EDITOR
"NISPRUHA"
NAGPUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

165. LETTER TO SURENDRANATH MAHEY

January 30, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am for the abolition of all castes as they exist today. I am in favour of abolition of all distinctions of high and low, but I am not in favour of abolition of varnashramadharma which to me is the antithesis of caste. I do believe that Hindu Marriage Law requires amending. If you can succeed in inducing legislators to interest themselves in the cause, it will be good. I cannot, because I believe that I am attending to things which are of greater moment at present than marriage reforms through legislation.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI SURENDRANATH MAHEY
10 TEMPLE ROAD
LAHORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

166. LETTER TO M. K. PANDURANGA

January 30, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your exhaustive letter. I have handed your book to a friend who is interested in food reform. As soon as it comes back to me, I shall go through the chapters mentioned by you. I understand all that you and your wife have gone through.

Yours sincerely,

SRI M. K. PANDURANGA
BLISS CULT COLONY, AMBATTUR R. S.
VILLIVAKKAM P. O., MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

167. LETTER TO ACHYUT PATWARDHAN

January 30, 1935

MY DEAR PATWARDHAN,

You have done well in bringing the weavers' case to my notice. I had a similar case in Orissa during the walking tour. It was a question affecting 10,000 weavers. I have resolutely set my face against doing anything for weavers who weave mill-spun yarn, for they cut their own throat by weaving mill-spun yarn, and they know it. But they wrongly plead helplessness. As I told the weavers of Orissa, in a weaving family where there is one weaver, the rest of the members help in attending to the different processes through which yarn has to pass before it comes to the loom. My suggestion then is that every weaver family should spin its own yarn, that is to say, it should do the ginning, carding and spinning. Such a family should use for itself the khadi woven by it and put the surplus on the market. This will ensure spinning of a high order, because all the members of the family would be interested in spinning as strong and even yarn as is possible. Of course, the income of the weaver would increase in exact proportion to the skill employed in producing good yarn.

With efficient management, I can show that such a family stands to gain by taking up spinning. The gain will be threefold. It will be independent of the middleman who sells yarn and the fluctuations of the yarn market, and save a portion of the money spent in buying cloth required for the family, for, except when the price of cotton goes down very low, the value of cotton required for domestic use will always be less than the price of cloth purchased in the market. Moreover, it has been found by experience that a man and woman use less yards of khadi than of mill-cloth, and less still where khadi and yarn are respectively hand-woven and hand-spun. And it is the universal testimony of practised spinners that when they have khadi woven out of their own yarn it lasts three times as long as manufactured cloth.

If this thing appeals to you, you can organize [the work]. A. I. S. A. can come to the assistance by purchasing the surplus khadi that these families will weave.

I am telling the weaver friend whose letter you have enclosed that you would explain my scheme to him.

If you like the scheme and any of the weavers will take it up under the conditions mentioned by me, you should, in order to save time, place yourself in touch with Gangadharrao, who, officially or unofficially, I do not remember which, represents the Karnatak branch of the A. I. S. A.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI AGHYUT PATWARDHAN
COURT ROAD
AHMEDNAGAR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

168. LETTER TO M. MADIAH

January 30, 1935

MY DEAR MADIAH,

I have your letter. I think you have got to exercise patience. We have made great headway, and we shall do more if there is self-restraint. I do not believe in propaganda through pamphlets or in costly buildings. A Bhajan Mandiram is good. But you should be satisfied with an unpretentious humble building.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI M. MADIAH
ADI-KARNATAKA STREET No. 1
MALVILLI TOWN, MYSORE DISTRICT

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

169. LETTER TO RAMACHANDRAN

January 30, 1935

MY DEAR RAMACHANDRAN,

I had your letter about Bhole. I see that Bhole has been now discharged. Was he discharged as cured, or because of any complaint in respect of him? I have a suspicion that it might be the other, because of Bhole's letter just received.

I enclose herewith Madiab's letter and copy of my reply¹. If there is anything for you to say in this matter, you will do so.

SHRI RAMACHANDRAN
DEENA SEVA SANGH
MALLESWARAM P. O., BANGALORE CITY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

170. LETTER TO PURNACHANDRA SARMAH

January 30, 1935

MY DEAR SARMAH,

I have your letter. You have to fix up everything with Annadababu and get him to approach the A. I. S. A. if he has a workable scheme.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI PURNACHANDRA SARMAH

PRESIDENT

DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE, NOWGONG (ASSAM)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

171. LETTER TO T. T. SHARMAN

January 30, 1935

MY DEAR SHARMAN,

I have forwarded your letter to Kakasaheb Kalelkar who will go into the matter. He is just now in the South principally for the purpose of helping Hindi Prachar work. I would ask you to put yourself in touch with him. His address is: Kakasaheb Kalelkar, C/o Hindi Prachar Sabha, 107 Armenian Street, G. T., Madras.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI T. T. SHARMAN,

EDITOR

"VISWAKARNATAKA DAILY"

BANGALORE CITY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

172. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

January 30, 1935

DEAR THAKKAR BAPA,

With reference to your question embodied in your letter of 21st instant, the only thing I can recommend is that the local reformers should zealously support persecuted Harijans as if they were their own blood brothers and sisters. If even this much cannot be guaranteed to them, we may not wonder that from motives of self-protection they go over to some other religion where they believe they can get some degree of protection.

Herewith a letter from Pratap Daldas¹. Inform Malkani that I have written to him. If the contribution has not been already used for Harijan work in Thar-Parkar District, please do so now.

Encl. 1

SHRI A. V. THAKKAR

GEN. SECRETARY

HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH, BIRLA MILLS, DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

173. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

January 30, 1935

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I got your letters on arrival here. Your ear seems to be giving you a good deal of trouble. All of us here feel anxious. Ghan-shyamdas also is worried. He has great faith in his Jew doctor in Calcutta. His operation seems to have proved successful. That is another reason why he is pressing that if your ear trouble is not cured soon, you should consult that doctor. I have asked Dr. Jivraj to let me have his opinion in detail. You also may think over this suggestion. I do not like the repeated postpone-

¹ A Sindhi philanthropist

ments. Would you like Janakidevi to come over there? Last evening, it appeared as though she wished to do so. She also felt that perhaps you wanted her there. If that is so, she would certainly want to go. I have suggested that she should wait for your reply to this letter. If you wish, you may send a wire in reply to this. Give all details about the pain.

I shall be here for the present. Please drop the idea of coming here immediately. Come only when the doctors positively permit you to do so.

I do wish you would follow my advice regarding food. Take milk, eat fruit, chapatis made of whole wheatmeal, exclude rice, potatoes, etc., and eat green vegetables regularly. Do not eat anything in between the meals. Scrupulously avoid eating anything except at fixed hours. The load on the stomach at every meal should be as light as possible. You should not go by doctors' advice about food. Their experience, too, is very limited in this matter.

Just now I myself am sending Durgaprasad's money. I had asked them to send it. I had no idea whatsoever that he had no money even to pay the fare to Bombay.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Mehrtaj did not come after all. Lali will probably go to Dehra Dun.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2954

174. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

January 30, 1935

CHI. JAMNALAL,

After I wrote you a letter in the morning I met Janakidevi. She is no doubt restless and wants to go to you. Hence do send a wire tomorrow saying yes or no.

The Rs. 900 that Dr. Khan Saheb used to get has stopped. What Khan Saheb used to get has also as good as stopped. Both the brothers are definitely in straitened circumstances. He was telling me that at present you meet the expenses of the Doctor's son. I think no money is likely to come from anywhere for Ghani either. Hence if anything is being given we should not expect it to be returned. Tell me if you want to suggest anything to me in this connection.

There is a letter from Khan Saheb written from jail. A translation of it will of course be enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU¹

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2955

175. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

January 30, 1935

BHAI KHAMBHATTA,

I hope you are now improving. You must give up your attachment to Bombay. Be content with what God has given you. Are you likely to find any difficulty in living in Poona? Do let me know.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6607. Also G.W. 4397. Courtesy: Tehmina Khambhatta

176. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

January 30, 1935

BHAI VALLABHBHAI,

I forgot to tell you that Shah² had been here to see me. He wishes to work for the Board but not like a twelfth man. I do feel that some use should be made of him. Can he not be appointed "Honorary Economic Adviser" or "Consultant"? He is not particular about fees.

I had hoped to be able to travel with you. We could discuss nothing in Delhi. In a way, however, it was good that you stayed back. On my arrival, I received another letter from Andrews. It contains nothing new. He is merely building castles in the air.

¹ This is followed by the direction: "The translation of Khan Saheb's letter should accompany this."

² Prof. K. T. Shah, the economist

What a contrast between the cold there and the comparatively warm weather here!

Blessings from
BAPU

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
NEW DELHI

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-2: Sardar Vallabhbhains, pp. 151-2

177. MESSAGE TO AHMEDABAD MILL-WORKERS

[On or before *January 31, 1935*]¹

Tell workers that they are weakening their cause and that of labour generally by illegitimate strike. Let them not tarnish the good name they have earned for themselves. I hope they will regain balance and resume work.

The Hindustan Times, 1-2-1935

178. LETTER TO BHUJANGILAL CHHAYA

WARDHA,
January 31, 1935

CHI. BHUJANGILAL,

I had your letter. I do not mistrust you. What I wrote to you was in accordance with your nature as I know it. Your intentions are good but you are constantly obstructed in implementing them. Complete your study and do whatever service you can after that. Don't do anything against your inclination. One should discriminate between what is worth while and what is worthless and then do whatever one can to the best of one's ability. You should carefully examine where precisely you stand.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2593

¹ The report appeared under the date-line "Ahmedabad, January, 31".

179. LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL

January 31, 1935

BHAI MOOLCHAND,

Your letter. I hope no one will, in the first instance, bear malice towards the sanatanists and, again, mind the boycott imposed by them. In the event of a boycott we should bear with whatever hardships it brings.

Keep me informed of all the developments.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 767

180. LETTER TO VIYOGI HARI

January 31, 1935

BHAI VIYOGI HARI,

Herewith a small item for *Harijansvak*. If possible gather some more information about this matter there. I fail to understand this boycott.

What have you done about the Hindi lessons for Prabhavati?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1098

181. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

January 31, 1935

OHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

You are pardoned—though such errors could have been easily avoided. We are susceptible to subtle faults such as anger and the like from which it is not easy to escape. But everything will turn out well as you are ever on the alert.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2441

182. *ESCAPING THE OBVIOUS*

When I was addressing a mixed conference of Harijans and non-Harijans the other day, I happened to deplore the fact that at railway stations one heard the cry 'Mussalman milk, Mussalman water'; 'Hindu milk, Hindu water'. 'Hindu chapati' and 'Mussalman chapati' I could bear, though I did not believe in anything like it; but Mussalman and Hindu milk, with the making of which man had nothing to do, I could neither understand nor tolerate. I added that those who believed in the total removal of untouchability had to be free from superstitions like 'Mussalman and Hindu milk and water'.

I have already remarked in these columns that those who refuse to take water and the like touched by Harijans may not claim that they are free from the taint of untouchability. It would be preposterous to justify the practice of differentiating between Mussalman and Hindu water and milk, when we do away with the difference between Harijan water and milk and non-Harijan water and milk. The great movement for the removal of untouchability would lose all its charm if it became a mere salve for conscience without truth behind it. The virus of untouchability is all-pervasive, and those who believe in it cannot be said to be free till they have ceased to regard any single individual as untouchable or in any way inferior in status by reason of his birth, community or faith.

A letter has just come to emphasize the necessity of a proper understanding of the implications of the movement. It describes how there was a public dinner arranged over the celebration of the silver jubilee of a high school in Berar. Harijan students were invited to it. The letter informs me that the Harijan students were provided with separate seats, the guests drawn from all the other castes and communities sitting in one row. Here was a wanton insult needlessly offered to the cultured Harijan students, who could not be recognized as such from their appearance. Such insults at this time of the day at a high school function show that, though much headway has been made in the campaign against untouchability, the superstition persists even in the least expected quarters and in the least expected manner. It should be borne in mind that here there was no question of inter-dining,

there was no question of mixed cooking, it was a question merely of sitting in the same row. If sitting on the same bench in the same compartment in a railway train and eating one's food in that condition is not inter-dining, surely this was not. But in the dictionary of untouchability, inter-dining has a specific meaning which excludes sitting at meal-time in the same row with people.

Harijan, 1-2-1935

183. BEE-KEEPING¹

In answer to an inquiry, Shri J. N. Jayakaran of Y. M. C. A. Rural Reconstruction Centre, Ramnathpuram, Coimbatore, gives the following interesting information:

Krishnaswami Naidu, a small holder, knows, and demonstrates to his neighbours, that the total outturn from a coriander crop is represented not merely by the usual quantity of coriander which it can produce without the help of bees, but also by the increase in the quantity of production caused by better pollination by these busy insects *plus* 42 pounds of A 1 golden honey, this latter alone bringing to his pocket a decent sum of Rs. 63.

He has but 10 hives of bees, which he has caught from nature and hived in cheap dealwood boxes.

Bee-keeping seems to me to possess immense possibilities. Apart from its village value, it may be cultivated as a hobby by moneyed young men and women. They will add to the wealth of the country and produce the finest health-giving sugar for themselves. If they are philanthropically inclined, they can distribute it as health-giving food among sickly Harijan children. There is no reason why it should be a luxury of the rich or an expensive medicinal vehicle in the hands of the hakims and vaidyas. No doubt, my hope is based on inferences drawn from meagre data. Experiments that may be made in villages and in cities by young men and women should show whether honey can become a common article of food or has to remain an uncommon article, which it is today.

Harijan, 1-2-1935

¹ This appeared under "Notes".

184. HOW TO BEGIN?—II¹

Last week I dealt with rice. Let us now take up wheat. It is the second most important article of diet, if not the first. From the nutritive stand-point, it is the king of cereals. By itself, it is more perfect than rice. Flour bereft of the valuable bran is like polished rice. That branless flour is as bad as polished rice is the universal testimony of medical men. Whole-wheat flour ground in one's own *chakki*² is any day superior to, and cheaper than, the fine flour to be had in the bazaars. It is cheaper because the cost of grinding is saved. Again, in whole-wheat flour there is no loss of weight. In fine flour there is loss of weight. The richest part of wheat is contained in its bran. There is a terrible loss of nutrition when the bran of wheat is removed. The villagers and others who eat whole-wheat flour ground in their own *chakkis* save their money and, what is more important, their health. A large part of the millions that flour mills make will remain in and circulate among the deserving poor when village grinding is revived.

But the objection is taken that *chakki* grinding is a tedious process, that often wheat is indifferently ground and that it does not pay the villagers to grind wheat themselves. If it paid the villagers formerly to grind their own corn, surely the advent of flour mills should make no difference. They may not plead want of time, and when intelligence is allied to labour, there is every hope of improvement in the *chakki*. The argument of indifferent grinding can have no practical value. If the *chakki* was such an indifferent grinder, it could not have stood the test of time immemorial. But to obviate the risk of using indifferently ground whole-wheat flour, I suggest that, wherever there is suspicion, the flour of uneven grinding may be passed through a sieve and the contents may be turned into thick porridge and eaten with or after chapati. If this plan is followed, grinding becomes incredibly simple, and much time and labour can be saved.

All this change can only be brought about by some previous preparation on the part of workers and instruction of villagers.

¹ For the first instalment, *vide* pp. 108-10.

² Quern

This is a thankless task. But it is worth doing, if the villagers are to live in health and elementary comfort.

*Gur*¹ is the next article that demands attention. According to the medical testimony I have reproduced in these columns², *gur* is any day superior to refined sugar in food value, and if the villagers cease to make *gur* as they are already beginning to do, they will be deprived of an important food adjunct for their children. They may do without *gur* themselves, but their children cannot without undermining their stamina. *Gur* is superior to bazaar sweets and to refined sugar. Retention of *gur* and its use by the people in general means several crores of rupees retained by the villagers.

But some workers maintain that *gur* does not pay the cost of production. The growers who need money against their crops cannot afford to wait till they have turned cane-juice into *gur* and disposed of it. Though I have testimony to the contrary, too, this argument is not without force. I have no ready-made answer for it. There must be something radically wrong when an article of use, made in the place where also its raw material is grown, does not pay the cost of labour. This is a subject that demands local investigation in each case. Workers must not take the answer of villagers and despair of a remedy. National growth, identification of cities with villages, depend upon the solution of such knotty problems as are presented by *gur*. We must make up our mind that *gur* must not disappear from the villages, even if it means an additional price to be paid for it by city people.

Harijan, 1-2-1935

185. LETTER TO F. MARY BARR

Unrevised

WARDHA,
February 1, 1935

OHI. MARY,

I was expecting your letter today. I am glad Mary Junior had an enema. It must have given her considerable relief. Where have you put up? Are you comfortable there, and are you getting all you need? You will not hesitate to ask me to do anything that may be required and that I can do. Mary has got to become strong and fit.

¹ Jaggery

² *Vide* "Villagers' Hands", p. 33.

You have well put the result of your stay in Delhi.¹ Blessed are they that expect nothing, but twice blessed are those that feel sure that they have got what they need.

I like the prayer too with which you have ended your letter. Do you remember it? It is: 'May rural-mindedness increase.' When that mindedness takes a firm hold of us we shall be only happy living in the villages and make villages infinitely more habitable than the finest city in the world can ever be.

I have already opened the conversation with the girls as to who is ready to join you for two or three months.

We had a perfect downpour yesterday. It is very fine today. But no such thing as cold here.

Blessings to both of you from
BAPU²

MISS MARY BARR
C/o SETH DEEPCHANDJI
BETUL

From a photostat: G.N. 6037. Also C.W. 3367. Courtesy: F. Mary Barr

186. LETTER TO B. MADHAVALALIA

February 1, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I do not know what I have done with the verse sent by Sastri. Most probably they are still lying in the *Harijan* file. There is a great deal of matter still lying awaiting attention. If you have a copy, you may send it to me. It may be that I might have examined the verse, and not finding it suitable for the columns of *Harijan*, might have destroyed it.

For the answer to your question I would refer you to my Introduction to *Anasaktiyoga*³ published in Gujarati. I translated the Preface into English for the benefit of the readers of *Young India*. If you get hold of the old file of *Young India*, you will find the translation in it. The answer briefly is this:

The *Gita* was written not to establish ahimsa, but to show a groping world a way of acting truly in every conceivable circum-

¹ The addressee had stayed with Gandhiji during his visit to Delhi in January.

² The subscription is in Hindi.

³ *Vide* Vol. XLI, pp. 90-101.

stance. But nevertheless you can gather that the *Gita* leads you infallibly to ahimsa. Remember that Arjuna was not striving to follow ahimsa, but he was struggling to get out of the the duty in front of him because of his partiality which he had suddenly developed for his kinsmen. The question before him was not whether to kill or not to kill, but whether to kill one's kinsmen or not to kill them.

Then, again, *nigraha*¹ in the verse quoted by you means a fruitless fight against one's fundamental nature. Fight against one's weakness is repeatedly enjoined in the *Gita*, but where a weakness becomes settled nature with a person all fighting becomes vain. Ajuna's nature was that of a fighter, not because he was born to fight but because his own individual nature loved fighting. When, what may appear to us, weakness in a man becomes part of his being, it ceases to have the quality of weakness with him; and if at the behest of someone such a person begins to fight against his nature, he is bound to fail or else he would become a hypocrite. To ask such a person to go against his nature would be to expect a leopard to change his spots.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI B. MADHAVA BALIGA
VANI VILAS MOHALLA
VONTIKOPPAL P. O., MYSORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

187. LETTER TO FEROZE GANDHI

February 1, 1935

MY DEAR FEROZE,

I have your postcard. I hope that Kamala is now better and has got rid of the effects of the needle. I would like you to write to Poonamchand Ranka. He complains that he never got any acknowledgment of any of the parcels he sent. He tells me too that the oranges are none of the best in Nagpur at the present time. Nevertheless, he will continue to send what he can get. I hope, too, that you are getting vegetables properly packed from Delhi. If not, you will tell me unhesitatingly.

SHRI FEROZE GANDHI
BHOWALI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Restraint, *vide Bhagavat Gita* III. 33.

188. LETTER TO RAMACHANDRAN

February 1, 1935

MY DEAR RAMACHANDRAN,

Herewith is a letter from the office of the Municipal Commissioner regarding the complaint of Kuppachari. Please see the Chairman of the Reception Committee. The poor man ought to receive some compensation from whoever may be considered primarily liable.

Encl. 1

SRI RAMACHANDRAN
BANGALORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

189. LETTER TO S. SUNDARESA IYER

February 1, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter with two books for which I thank you. I am conversant with the argument on birth-control. If the statements made are based on incontrovertible experience, the way of control described in the pamphlet is not half as bad as the artificial method. As to the second book, I wouldn't have the time to go through it. The subject does not interest me. If people could change their colour and if the whole world became one colour, I think that we would have a sorry world. What mankind has to conquer is prejudice, whether it is against race or colour.

Yours sincerely,

SRI S. SUNDARESA IYER, M.A., B.L.
ADVOCATE
MYLAPORE (MADRAS)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

190. LETTER TO MOHANLAL

February 1, 1935

MY DEAR MOHANLAL,

I like your very thorough report on the allegations of the Meghs of the Arya Nagar Colony. Can you now follow it up by seeing the members of the Sabha¹, finding out how the negotiations go and do whatever is possible on behalf of the poor Meghs? I suppose the corresponding Salvation Army Colony is flourishing, well managed and that the Christian settlers or tenants, whatever they be, are quite happy.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI MOHANLAL
HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH
LAJPAT RAI BHAWAN, LAHORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

191. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

February 1, 1935

DEAR THAKKAR BAPA,

There was a long complaint from the Meghs of the Arya Nagar Colony of the Punjab. I had referred the complaint to Mohanlal. Herewith is his very thoughtful and complete report. You will also find a copy of my reply to Mohanlal.² You do whatever you can from your end. Does Ghanshyamdas know the chief people of the Dalit Pratinidhi Sabha? I am speaking to Dr. Gopichand in the matter. He is here in connection with the Village Industries Association.

Encl. 2

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Dalit Pratinidhi Sabha

² *Vide* the preceding item.

192. LETTER TO MURARILAL

February 1, 1935

DEAR DR. MURARILAL,

Your letter is most businesslike and valuable. It will be very helpful. I am passing it on to Sjt. Kumarappa who will write to you fully about it. Those persons who require monthly assistance can be accommodated by the Agent or Agents who will be appointed. The idea is that the Central Board¹ should have no financial responsibility in respect of paid workers. Agents will be expected to collect what funds they require from local donors and manage their agency. That is the only way in which we shall be able to run this Association efficiently.

Yours sincerely,

DR. MURARILAL, M.B.
UDYOG BHAWAN, CAWNPORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

193. LETTER TO C. SUBRAMANIAM

February 1, 1935

MY DEAR SUBRAMANIAM,

If the teachers are truly repentant, I suppose they must be allowed to remain. It is difficult for me to give you infallible guidance without knowing the parties and knowing the method under which the institution is being run. There can never be too much purity in teachers. And the problem of getting the right type of teachers and managers for institutions where boys or girls receive training is proving more and more baffling.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM
C/o SHRI L. K. MUTHUSWAMI
161 VICTORIA HOSTEL, TRIPPLICANE (MADRAS)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ Of the A. I. V. I. A.

194. LETTER TO AVINASILINGAM CHETTIYAR

February 1, 1935

MY DEAR AVINASILINGAM,

I enclose herewith a letter received by me from Subramaniam and copy of my reply¹. If the facts set forth in the letter are correct, I hope you will take energetic steps to overtake the evil.

SRI AVINASILINGAM CHETTIYAR, M.L.A.
NEW DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

195. LETTER TO SECRETARY, PATIT PAVAN SABHA,
BHIWANI

February 1, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I never interfere in Municipal or other elections.

Yours sincerely,

THE SECRETARY
PATIT PAVAN SABHA
BHIWANI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

196. LETTER TO K. RAMAMURTI

February 1, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

If the crucibles you mention are or can be a village industry which the villagers can carry on without power machinery or complicated hand-driven machinery, the Agent of the Association, when one is appointed, for Rajahmundry, will be able to attend to your suggestions.

Yours sincerely,

SRI K. RAMAMURTI

HON. SECRETARY

THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SYNDICATE, RAJAHMUNDY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

197. LETTER TO T. L. KANTA RAO

February 1, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of 26th ultimo. I would refer you to Shri G. Sitarama Sastry, of Vinay Ashram, Chandole, who will be the Agent in charge of the Guntur District. I have no doubt that he will take all the assistance that medical men can give. Sanitation and hygiene are an integral part of the village uplift programme.

Yours sincerely,

SRI T. L. KANTA RAO

SECRETARY

THE GUNTUR DT. L. I. M. ASSOCIATION, GUNTUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

198. LETTER TO KANTI GANDHI

February 1, 1935

GHI. KANTI,

You must have received my letter sent through Kakasaheb. It has neither been answered nor acted upon. It cannot be that you did not receive it. Devdas has forwarded to me your last letter to him. I am waiting for you as eagerly as a thirsty man would wait for water. I wish you would come and stand before me in answer to this letter. I do not want to scold you. I only want to know your heart. Maganbhai is also here. You are therefore bound to find the place convenient in every way. You should know that I do not at all want to take away your freedom. Come soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7293. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

199. LETTER TO JAINENDRA KUMAR

February 1, 1935

BHAI JAINENDRA,

This may be the brief answer to your letter. You yourself have given it. For a belief in rebirth, it is necessary to believe in the existence of 'I'. If I do not exist and God alone exists, then who is to be reborn and how? This realization itself is rebirth, isn't it? The possibility of rebirth is there only as long as the 'I' exists. When you truly believe—merely saying it is not enough—that 'God alone exists', then there is no rebirth for you. The man who becomes one with God is liberated. This much your reason will certainly accept. But it will not be realized in experience. Realization may take even thousands of years. Realization comes through the heart. The head can provide only logic. But what is the worth of logic? Service alone can bring about realization.

From a copy of the Hindi: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

200. LETTER TO AMRIT KAUR

Not revised

WARDHA,
February 2, 1935

DEAR AMRIT,

Here is my message for the Harijans who are troubled about child-marriages.

"In these days of self-purification, Harijans ought to know that they are to avoid all the bad customs of caste Hindus. They should therefore avoid child-marriages. But reformers may not be impatient. Sarda Act is, in my opinion, a wise step. But it may not be strictly enforced against Harijans when it is very laxly enforced against caste Hindus. There should be effective enlightened propaganda by Harijans among fellow Harijans on the evil of child-marriages and the bearing of the Sarda Act on them. And then when it is made certain that people wilfully ignore that Act, a few prosecutions may be undertaken. But even then they must be the sole concern of Harijans. They may not ask for or receive even financial assistance in this matter from caste Hindus. In any case at least one year should be given to concentrated propaganda."

If this is not the message you want you may withhold publication and let me know what you want.¹

There is no cold here. We have been having rains instead. I hope you are better.
Love.

BAPU

SRI RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR
JULLUNDUR CITY

From the original: C.W. 3521. Courtesy: Amrit Kaur. Also G.N. 6330

¹ For the message as modified, *vide* "Letter to Amrit Kaur", 18-2-1935.

201. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

February 2, 1935

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

Rani Vidyavati is the wife of a poor broken-down zamindar in Hardoi district. I have known her for years as a staunch Congress worker. She has been to jail. She is now ailing from some disease which the local doctors opine requires special treatment, probably even an operation. They have advised her to seek the shelter of Chittaranjan Seva Sadan. Naturally the request came to me some months ago that I should write to you and inquire whether you could accommodate her at the Seva Sadan as a poor patient. But later, there seemed to be an improvement in her health, and therefore she postponed her going to Calcutta. Now, evidently, she has to undergo special treatment. If you find that she can be admitted to the Seva Sadan, please write to me and telegraph to her at Barua House, Wazir Hasan Road, Lucknow. It might be as well to telegraph to her directly even if you cannot admit her.

Yours sincerely,

DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY
36 WELLINGTON STREET
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

202. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

February 2, 1935

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have your letter and wire. Janakidevi is leaving today. This letter will be sent with her.

I have explained to her, too, about food. I have no doubt that she will be of great help to you.

Please do not worry about Om. I will keep her with me. Janakidevi's heart is weak. Get her examined. She will not take any medicine, but still we had better ascertain what the

trouble is. We shall also know what treatment they suggest.

Get the receipt for Ranchhodbhai's money issued in the name of Narandas or any other person who is a trustee on behalf of the Udyog Mandir. I have forgotten the names of the trustees.

I shall remain here for the present. I am not at all harassed by mosquitoes. There are none on the terrace. Last night it was raining and so I slept downstairs. There was no trouble even there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2956

203. LETTER TO KANTI GANDHI

February 2, 1935

CHI. KANTI,

I received your letter just now. I am surprised and pained by it. It gives an entirely different picture of you. But the best thing is to appear what you are. In your last letter to me you had yourself expressed your willingness to come here. Now when I call you here, why do you feel nervous? What would be the plight of a son who is afraid to go near his father? How fearsome his father or grandfather must be! I had called you here out of love. I wanted to guide you after knowing your mind. But I see that I would not be able to give you any consolation. Be at ease. Do not come. Look within yourself, be calm and good. Live independently and rise high. That is my hope and my blessing.

My letter must have reached you. You must have also received my letter sent to you along with Kakasaheb's. I have destroyed your letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7294. Courtesy: Kantilal Gandhi

204. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI G. PATEL

February 2, 1935

CHI. SHIVABHAI,

I have your letter. It seems that a beginning has been made. In my opinion there is no place for buffaloes or ghee made out of buffalo's milk in our village industries. What shall we gain by interfering in the activities which are going on quite systematically? We do not want to make a business out of it. One who understands the dharma of cow-protection would not speak for the buffalo.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9515

205. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

February 3, 1935

CHI. PREMA,

I am very late this time in replying to your letter. I get no time at all.

I have been writing so much today that the right hand feels tired and I am now writing with the left hand.

The body must have lost some strength but I have no such feeling. The fast¹ has not in the least led to an increase of weakness. Fasting never does if one knows how to return to normal diet afterwards.

I believe that the effect of my diet on my health has been nothing but beneficial. But I cannot give reasons for this belief.

I am very glad that Father, Mother and others came and saw you.

There is certainly a remedy for the frequent pimples which you get. For a few days live only on fruit and uncooked *bhaji*. Take steam treatment and the pimples will then immediately

¹ From August 7 to 13, 1934, undertaken to atone for the beating up of Lalnath, an opponent of Gandhiji's Harijan activities; *vide* Vol. LVIII.

shrink. Having done this, bathe in cold water. The skin will probably clear up in three or four days. Then start taking milk or curd which is not sour along with fruit and uncooked *bhaji*. Among the different *bhajis*, fenugreek leaves, spinach, *luni* and lettuce are the best. I eat even the leaves and twigs of mustard.

To pray to God for anything means to aspire for it intensely. God is both different and not different from us. He is different because He is perfect, and He is not different because we are a portion of Him. If a drop of water separated from the sea may not pray to the sea, to whom else may it pray? But does the sea have to do anything to answer the prayer? Prayer is the anguished cry of one who cannot bear separation. The embodied soul cannot help uttering such a cry.

The key to the nation's progress both is and is not in our hands. We can help in its progress if we reduce ourselves to a cipher. It is in our hands to do that. But the progress itself is not in our hands, because our reducing ourselves to a cipher means leaving ourselves entirely in the hands of God who alone is the digit of unity.

"O Udhoo, the secret of karma is beyond human understanding" is an absolute truth. We can know that there is a law of karma, but we do not know how it works. That is God's mercy. We do not know the laws of even an earthly king. How then can we know the laws of God who is Law personified?

The appearance of victory in the early part of this struggle was an illusion, and the appearance of defeat also is nothing but an illusion. In the lexicon of one who has unshakable faith in the ultimate victory of truth, there is no such word as "defeat".

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10366

206. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI G. PATEL

WARDHA,
February 3, 1935

CHI. SHIVABHAI,

I do not see any objection to your wanting to join a school. You alone can say whether you will be able to shoulder the responsibility of that work or not.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9514

207. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

WARDHA,
February 4, 1935

BHAI KHAMBHATTA,

I was very happy to read your letter and equally surprised. One may say you have risen from the death-bed. Your fasts were also very severe. Will the leprosy be cured also? Convey my thanks to Dinshaw. If the remaining troubles are cured as well, the result can be said to be marvellous. I am not at all surprised that Tehmina nurses you like Sita. I should be surprised and pained if it was otherwise. Write to me the details of your treatment when you get time.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA
NATURE CURE CLINIC
6 TODIWALA ROAD, POONA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6608. Also C.W. 4398. Courtesy: Tehmina Khambhatta

208. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

February 4, 1935

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. Your account of the two interviews¹ is good. I see it all now very clearly. Nothing more remains to be done. But I am toying with the idea of writing to Sir Henry Craik. If I do, of course I shall send the letter on to you. If you don't like it, you need not forward it. Bhulabhai² cannot sign his name in the visitors' book. In these matters we gain nothing by swerving from the golden mean. Bhulabhai's courteous rejoinder should be regarded sufficient. Time will do the rest.

The courtesy and goodwill of the Home Member are personal. The policy in the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee is that of the bureaucracy. The policy of the bureaucracy shows no courtesy. There is in it deliberate discourtesy. I expect nothing good to accrue from it. When the policy of the bureaucracy changes, any sort of constitution can be made to do for a long while. Today the question is of a new thing being imposed, and that too by force. No one holds a good opinion of it. You may well stick to your attitude. I am writing at such length only to tell you that I see no ray of hope in the atmosphere. My personal optimism of course remains constant even in the face of darkness. It has no other basis save the truth of our position.

You may get Vallabhbhai to decide as to what attitude Bhulabhai should adopt.

Even as I am writing this, my desire to write to the Home Member is becoming less keen.

The dates must have arrived.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 7970. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

¹ With the then Viceroy Lord Willingdon and the Home Member, Sir Henry Craik

² Bhulabhai Desai, an eminent lawyer and leader of the Congress Party in the Legislative Assembly.

209. LETTER TO H. L. SHARMA

February 4, 1935

CHI. SHARMA,

Being tired I am writing with the left hand. You must have received the dates sent to you. Amtul writes that you are both miserable. It is a matter of regret if it is true. Dr. Ansari had sent a list of Urdu books and some Hindi books too, which I rejected. Now he has promised to send the English. I do not worry except on your account. It is well if you are putting your time to good use. Send me the time table.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a facsimile of the Hindi: \ *Bapuki Chhayamen Mero Jivanko Solah Varsha*, facing p. 144

210. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

February 4, 1935

DEAR DAUGHTER AMTUSSALAAM,

I was pained to read your letter. What was the point in going to Khurja and rushing back? Anyway I shall reconcile myself to whatever brings you peace. The news about Sharma too makes me unhappy. He alone knows the sacrifices he has made. But it is not a happy state of affairs. I hope your health is better. This letter is written with the left hand as the right hand pains.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Urdu: G.N. 313

211. LETTER TO M. J. KANETKAR

WARDHA,
February 5, 1935

MY DEAR KANETKAR,

It is only when you remind me that I think of the printed card or letter. I hope I have never found so churlish as to resent printed appeals by throwing at editors contemptible messages. I sent¹ you from the train what I thought was the best I could do in the time at my disposal. If I have repeated myself in my message to your paper, it is again because what I had originally given was of the best. I am sorry I can't give you anything more or better. Better I shall never succeed in giving you; more I could give if I had the leisure to recall the past things between good Abhyankar and myself and weave them into a readable story. For that I have no leisure. Although I have been a journalist, so called, for nearly thirty years I have not acquired the knack of writing long things at will. I am a bad spinner. You should thank me that I have given to this letter so much of my time, every second of which, I assure you, is precious to me. But I have given it for the memory of an old co-worker and for your sake, as in sending the book you had sent me his introduction. I wish I could say even now that I have read your book. I took it up half a dozen times, and the reading of it had to be interrupted for something more precious.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI M. J. KANETKAR, B.A.
EDITOR, "NISPRUHA"
1056 SITABULDI, NAGPUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ *Vide* "Letter to the Editor, *Nispruha*", p. 138.

212. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

February 5, 1935

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

I send you herewith a questionnaire¹ on milk which you will please answer at your early convenience.

I am now in a position to seek your concrete assistance for the A. I. V. I. A. The Board has been sitting for the last four days continuously and has given instructions to its members to prosecute the programme of inducing the villagers to take to hand-husking of unpolished rice and pressing their own oil and cane, and grinding their own corn wherever these four primary employments have been given up, and to attend to village sanitation and hygiene. Now, in all this work you can give the greatest assistance by securing the co-operation of medical men, medical students and other students. You can cover the whole of Bengal with an army of workers, paid or honorary; and if the workers are good, they will repay tenfold whatever they might get, in a visible and immediate improvement in the economic condition and health of the villagers. You can even produce a village literature that may become the model for the whole of India. I say this deliberately, because no province has so much chemical skill as Bengal; and is it not that which is principally required in the prosecution of this programme?

I have asked Profullababu to see you in this matter. I know you will help him.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ *Vide* the following item.

213. A QUESTIONNAIRE

February 5, 1935

Ayurvedic physicians say that cow's milk is the prince among milks from the health point of view. They give buffalo's milk an inferior place. Does modern medical science sustain that view? If so, in what way?

One hears it stated often that all fats do not act alike on the system. Is there any distinction between butter extracted from cow's milk and that from buffalo's milk? If so, what is it? That pound per pound buffalo's milk yields a larger quantity of fat or butter than cow's milk is irrelevant to the inquiry.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

214. LETTER TO C. MUKERJEE

February 5, 1935

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. The best way you can help the Association is to carry on propaganda amongst the members advocating the use by them of village products and manufactures wherever they are available, and secondly to send out women workers to the villages near their place of residence to do sanitary work amongst the villagers and to induce them to take up hand-husking of rice, etc. If you are not reading or taking *Harijan* which gives information every week about the activities of the All-India Village Industries Association, I would recommend your going in for it. I would also ask you to put yourself in touch with Shrimati Gosibehn Captain who is a member of the A. I. V. I. A. Board. As she happens to be here just now for the Board meetings, I am asking her to write to you.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI C. MUKERJEE
HON. ORGANIZING SECRETARY
9 LOWER RAWDON STREET, CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

215. LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

February 5, 1935

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

Here is another questionnaire¹ for you to answer at your early convenience.

Do please send me a list of the English books you want Sharma to read. You need not wait for giving me any exhaustive list. If you give me a preliminary list of the books² that he must read in order to qualify himself for making experiments on this very complicated human machine, that is enough.

I hope you are not wearing yourself out with work so as again to necessitate your going to Europe just for a cure.

DR. M. A. ANSARI

1 DARIAGANJ

DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

216. LETTER TO G. G. JADHAV

February 5, 1935

DEAR JADHAV,

I should never have thought that over there people are killing goats in the name of religion. Surely it is bad to have to kill them for food; but I hold it to be a blasphemy to kill any animal in the name of religion. It is bringing down God to our level when we think that He can possibly be pleased by our sacrificing dumb animals for our sins. The only way of pleasing God is, in my opinion, to sacrifice ourselves.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI G. G. JADHAV

EDITOR, "SEVAK"

KOLHAPUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ The reference presumably is to "A Questionnaire", p. 170.

² *Vide* "Letter to H. L. Sharma", p. 167; also Vol. LIX, pp. 407-8.

217. LETTER TO DR. S. SUBBA RAO

February 5, 1935

MY DEAR SUBBA RAO,

Here is another questionnaire¹ for you to answer when you can spare a moment for it.

Yours sincerely,

DR. S. SUBBA RAO

BANGALORE

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

218. LETTER TO N. R. DHAR

February 5, 1935

DEAR PROF. DHAR,

Dr. Mehta has kindly sent me your letter to him of 12th ultimo.

Your accurate opinion on unpolished rice and the other articles of food has proved of great assistance to me.

Can you throw light on the enclosed questionnaire?

Yours sincerely,

Encl.

PROF. N. R. DHAR

UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD

ALLAHABAD

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ *Vide* p. 170.

219. LETTER TO MESSRS JAFRI BROTHERS

February 5, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for the copy of the *Life of the Prophet* by Malik Ghulam Sarwar Khan. I have not even a minute to spare for reading literature. But I would love to read Malik Saheb's book, and when I have done so I shall gladly give you my opinion on it.

Yours sincerely,

MESSRS JAFRI BROTHERS
ANWAR AHMADI PRESS
287 SHAHGUNJ, ALLAHABAD

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

220. LETTER TO S. TIRUVENGADASAMI

February 5, 1935

MY DEAR TIRUVENGADASAMI,

I have your report of the working of your school. I hope that the school will more and more go in for industrial education.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI S. TIRUVENGADASAMI
TEACHER, H. S. S. SCHOOL
BAZAR STREET, MANNARGUDI (TANJORE Dt.)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

221. LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW

February 5, 1935

MY DEAR MATHEW,

I had already told you that you should not do anything at Thana. You are not built for any physical work. I wish you would stick to the family and serve it by getting an employment, however humble it may be.

SRI P. G. MATHEW
CHEPPAD
HARIPAD (TRAVANCORE)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

222. LETTER TO M. SUCOSE

February 5, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is not possible for me to send you Rs. 30 per month. I have no such funds to fall back upon. You have to make what effort you can there, or write to the Central office sending all your qualifications.

Yours sincerely,

M. SUCOSE, Esq.
SAMADANAPURAM
PALAMCOTTAH P. O., TINNEVELLEY DT.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

223. *LETTER TO RAJENDRA NATH BARUA*

February 5, 1935

MY DEAR BARUA,

I have your letter. If you will carefully follow the instructions given in Kuhne's *Science of Healing*, I have no doubt that both of you will be benefited.

Annadababu is to organize spinning in Assam. I would, therefore, ask you to put yourself in touch with him.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI RAJENDRA NATH BARUA, B.L.
PLEADER
GOLAGHAT (ASSAM)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

224. *LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI*

February 5, 1935

BHAI MUNSHI,

I have your letter. It is indeed worth considering to what extent we can participate in swadeshi exhibitions. It may be an act of kindness to give a place to the bullock-cart in an exhibition of aeroplanes but what would be the purpose of it? What would a giant intend to convey by lifting numerous dwarfs on the nail of his little finger? Considering this you may do whatever you think is in the interest of the villagers.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7567. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

225. LETTER TO M. J. KANETKAR

[After February 5, 1935]¹

MY DEAR KANETKAR,

I have just finished reading the chapter on population bogey. I must confess that it is not at all convincing. You have given away the whole of your case by saying that pestilence and other visitations will keep the growth under check. Their case is that modern science reduces the death rate. Every day produces new discoveries for conservation of life. Therefore the increase will be unbearable. This argument seriously brought has to be seriously answered. You have not even studied your subject. Able writers have combated the theory of Malthus and its later developments. If the other chapters are as bad, I can only ask you to study your subject and rewrite the book. I have now passed the book on to Prof. Malkani to read and give me his opinion. He knows nothing of this.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

226. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

WARDHA,

February 6, 1935

DEAR JAMNALAL,

I have your letter. I am satisfied with Dr. Jivraj's letter. He has suggested some changes in your food. He asks you to increase the quantity of butter in food. Discuss the matter with him and take more butter if necessary. I fear that you talk too much and do very little exercise. If that is true, then you should change in both respects. Write to me in detail.

I had a talk with Kamalnayan. I am firmly of the view that, if he agrees, he should go to England only after getting married. But he should not take his wife with him. It will be almost impossible for him to study if he takes his wife with him. It is also improper for him to lead a family life while

¹ *Vide* "Letter to M. J. Kanetkar", p. 168.

abroad. It would be a different matter if they were going only on a pleasure trip. But that is not so in this case. My opinion is this: he should get engaged just now, go to Colombo after the malaria there has subsided, pass at least one examination there and then go to England but get married before leaving. He may enjoy married life for some time if he wishes, but he should go to England alone. If he wants, he may pay short visits to India. I think the experience in Colombo will help him a lot. He has not cultivated studious habits yet. If he does that, there will be no difficulty whatever.

Six permanent trustees have been appointed in the Industries Association. Your name has been included among them, as that was necessary. You will, therefore, have to be enrolled as an ordinary member. The membership form is enclosed herewith. Fill it in and send it by return of post. You need not feel the slightest hesitation in this matter.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

It is time Krishnadas was engaged. Do you have any girl in view? If you have, please let me know.

BAPU

[PPS.]

The membership form is enclosed.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3035

227. LETTER TO N.¹

February 6, 1935

CHI. PANDITJI,

R. gives you quite a lot of trouble. But do not worry about it. Do not lend him any money to pay off his debts. He can very well pay them off from his salary. The creditors should get at least Rs. 25 directly from his employer. He must reform himself. Everything will be all right if he gives up his bad habits. The parents' duty toward their grown-up children is limited to being their advisers only, so you do not have any financial

¹ The names in this letter have been omitted.

responsibility for G. and Babu. G. has not kept his word. How he is going on with his studies?

Tell Mridubehn about R. I am writing to her in brief. However, it will be proper if you talk to her. Keep on writing to me.

I have not talked to L. I will give her some hints. However, it is not necessary for you to write. She cannot do anything about it and she will only be made unhappy.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 249. Courtesy: Lakshmibehn N. Khare

228. LETTER TO NARAHARI D. PARIKH

February 6, 1935

CHI. NARAHARI,

I received your letter. If unpolished rice is soaked in cold water for three hours as is done in the case of pulses, it will cook in very little time. We make rice poorer in food value by getting it pounded and spending money on it. Unpolished rice should become one mass after being cooked. As long as the grains remain separate, you must know that it is not cooked.

Do try snuff. You will have to inhale it only as a medicine, so take small pinches of it. The snuff for medicinal purposes should be perfectly pure. You may be knowing that the snuff available in the market is very much adulterated.

There is no harm in sending with Surendra one of the two men from Orissa.

Mahadev has gone to Calcutta.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9070

229. LETTER TO GANGABEHN JHAVERI

February 6, 1935

CHI. GANGABEHN (JHAVERI),

I was waiting for your letter. It is good that you are living the life of a student. Navin and Mahesh are bound to benefit immensely from your diligence.

The two brothers will grow wiser with the passage of time. Do not budge from there for some years to come. Study as much as you want to. Improve your health. Never forsake simplicity. I hope you are keeping up the spinning. Use village-made things as much as you can. Build up your health by keeping strictly to the rules regarding diet and rest. Keep writing to me now and then. And tell Mahesh to write.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3120

230. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

February 6, 1935

DEAR DAUGHTER AMTUSSALAAM,

I have your letter. As it takes too long to write with the left hand I am dictating this. What advice shall I give you? You should do whatever brings you peace of mind and it will have my approval. Sharma has written to me. I enclose his letter. I have no objection to his staying with you but I will not order you to let him do so, as I see no need of it. I shall certainly like it if you stay in a Harijan locality. If you live with your brother in Patiala and nurse Kudsia, that too will be good. If you can regain your health by living in Ambala with the Swami¹ and perform whatever tasks of service come your way, though not at the cost of your health, that too will be fine; you will at the same time be of some service to your cousin who lives there. Bear in mind that to those who are keen on serving, the whole

¹ Swami Umaprasad, a friend of the addressee's brother

world is the field. They should do any service that falls to their lot anywhere, holding it as a boon from God. You should now resolve on some one thing and settle down somewhere. Taravati's handwriting is good. Convey my blessings to her on the occasion of her wedding. I sent you a postcard at the Patiala address. You will have received it.

Blessings from
BAPU¹

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 314

231. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

WARDHA,
February 7, 1935

SHRI JAMNALALJI
BOMBAY

IF YOU HAVE CONFIDENCE MAY ACCEPT BANK OFFER.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 152

232. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

February 7, 1935

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your letter. I must not write much. I entirely endorse your programme for West Africa.

You have not asked me to make any definite promise. But you may expect me definitely not to seek imprisonment until there is no other course open. Indeed 'seeking imprisonment' here is not the correct term. It will have to force itself upon me. What I am seeking now and shall continue to seek is avoidance of imprisonment. I can't remove this suspicion unless I hasten slowly or not hasten at all. I have taken no further step in the way of sounding the Government as to alternatives. I am taking my own time. Meanwhile I am taking extraordinary precautions to avoid every possibility of a conflict between the Government and myself. Therefore, you will proceed to West Africa without the burden of any anxiety on your mind on this score.

¹ The superscription and subscription are in Urdu.

I am glad that your broadcast¹ was received so well. All the other news from the regular letters that are being written from this end by Mahadev and others.

Love.

MOHAN

From a photostat: G.N. 1297

233. *LETTER TO S. GANESAN*

February 7, 1935

MY DEAR GANESAN,

How unbusiness-like you are. You have given me a long letter which you could have finished in four lines, but failed to answer the very relevant question that I put to you in my letter. What is this purchase of a motor-car? Will you answer it now?

I shall be no party to making you stop publication of your newspaper against your will. I can simply say that Kodambakkam is mouthful enough. There is no room for any other. But if you think otherwise, you must pursue your own course and take the consequence. I have no desire to rob you of your initiative nor foist a colleague on you whom you do not like. But I am sure that you will not want others to do that which you would not have them to get done by you. Don't you believe in reciprocity?

SHRI S. GANESAN
MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ In his broadcast over the B.B.C. in January, C. F. Andrews had severely criticized the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee,

234. LETTER TO EDITH HOWE-MARTYN

February 7, 1935

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter just received. I could give you a walk tomorrow (8th) from 6 to 7 p.m. On the 9th I shall be engaged. On the 10th I am again free for the same walk. On the 9th you can walk out with me at 6.15. From 6.30 to 7.30 I have to attend a meeting on the anniversary of the opening of a private temple which is open to Harijans. We can walk again after 7.30. You have to reach Madras on the 11th. That probably means that we can walk only tomorrow or the day after. But I have given you three days' programme. You can take any day you like.

MRS. EDITH HOWE-MARTYN

C/o DR. MARTIN

MURE HOSPITAL

NAGPUR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

235. LETTER TO S. J. DURAISAMY

February 7, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

This is my message:

I am sick of hearing the distinctions between Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Parsi, Jewish students. I have never understood these different species. I have known good students, clever students, bad students, dull students, and so on. They wore the marks of their class in their ways and in their speech. But I have often failed to distinguish a Muslim student from a Christian student. Your readers have a rare opportunity of identifying themselves with Indian humanity that lives in the villages of India by sharing the activities of the All-India Village Industries Association.

Yours sincerely,

SRI S. J. DURAISAMY

Y. M. C. A., MADRAS

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

236. LETTER TO DR. N. B. KHARE

February 7, 1935

DEAR DR. KHARE,

I have your letter. I knew you were coming to Delhi and I saw that we would be crossing each other without meeting.

I did send a message to Shri Kanetkar.¹ He complained that it was too brief. Little does he know how hard pressed I am to take any burden beyond the daily routine work. If I go to Nagpur, I shall certainly refer to the proposed memorial.

Yours sincerely,

DR. N. B. KHARE, M.L.A.
3 ELECTRIC LANE
NEW DELHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

237. LETTER TO GANANATH SEN

February 7, 1935

DEAR KAVIRAJ,

Can you answer the enclosed questionnaire in the light of Ayurveda and interpret it in terms of modern medicine?

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

KAVIRAJ GANANATH SEN
AYURVEDIC HOSPITAL
CALCUTTA

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ *Vide* "Letter to the Editor, *Nispruha*", p. 198.

238. LETTER TO AMRITLAL V. THAKKAR

February 7, 1935

DEAR THAKKAR BAPA,

My point was not that Thar-Parkar had not enough money.¹ But the point was to satisfy the desire of Pratap Daldas that this money should be spent on Thar-Parkar. All, therefore, that you need do is to make the necessary entry in the books transferring this small amount to Thar-Parkar and restoring the equivalent to the General Fund.

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

239. A LETTER

February 7, 1935

DEAR FRIEND,

I have now read your long note dated December 27th last. Are you still rearing sheep which give you the quantity of wool as described by you? If you are, I would like you to correspond with Seth Ghanshyamdas Birla, Albuquerque Road, New Delhi, for he is making experiments in that direction.

With respect to your desire to have a personal discussion with me, I shall be glad to see you any day during the month except Monday if you could come to Wardha and advise me of the day on which you will be coming.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Amritlal V. Thakkar", p. 143.

240. LETTER TO KHURSHEDBEHN

February 7, 1935

I have your two letters. I am giving rest to the right hand. I can write with the left, but it is a slow process. Therefore I must, in order to catch today's mail, dictate this to you.

I can only say ditto to all the thoughts you have expressed in both your letters. I entirely agree that in an ideal condition there should be perfect correspondence between thought and action. Then and then only is it possible to see truth face to face.

Amtul Salaam is in Patiala. She is tortured by her own mind.

I wish you to overcome your objection to eggs. I think I told you that it was possible now to have sterile eggs. They are to be had from Sangli, Salvation Depot in Bombay, some place in Poona and Salvation Depot in Ahmedabad. These eggs are obtained without the hens having to be mated. As an article of daily food, from the spiritual standpoint, that would be perhaps objectionable. But as a medical agent, sterile eggs might not be objected to.

Perhaps you know that Kamala had a set-back and lost 2 lb. last week.

SRI KHURSHEDBEHN
78 NAPEAN SEA ROAD
BOMBAY

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

241. LETTER TO G. S. NARASIMHACHARI

February 7, 1935

DEAR NARASIMHACHARI,

I have your letter of 30th ultimo. I can give you very little help in the matter. You should write to the member yourself. Prof. Ranga did see me in the matter. He appreciated my difficulty.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI G. S. NARASIMHACHARI
C/o VICE-CHANCELLOR
ANDHERA UNIVERSITY, WALT AIR

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

242. LETTER TO D. N. SARMAH

February 7, 1935

MY DEAR SARMAH,

I have your letters enclosing opinions on the Modino's treatment. I shall make such use as is possible of these opinions.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI D. N. SARMAH
SECRETARY
HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH, JORAHAT (ASSAM)

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

243. *LETTER TO FEROZE GANDHI*

February 7, 1935

MY DEAR FEROZE,

Your postcard of the 2nd instant is somewhat disturbing. Kamala has no weight to lose. Yet I suppose there will be these ups and downs whilst she is still convalescing.

Are you getting the fruit and vegetables in the manner wanted?

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Pyarelal

244. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

February 7, 1935

OH. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. Read the accompanying letter to Harilal. If you approve of his coming to me, give it to him and, if he is really willing, send him here. He may now perhaps improve more if he stays with me.

I hope Gokibehn is all right.

I am enclosing a letter received from Prema. How is Lilavati? How is Kusum's health?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./II. Also C.W. 8429. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

245. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

February 7, 1935

BHAI RAJENDRABABU,

I have your letter. If the kind of compromise you have outlined in your letter can be brought about, I would love it. I see little possibility of that. But an effort can be made. Have you done what was to be done at Chapra?

Mahadev has gone to Calcutta. He will be back by the 9th.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 9745. Courtesy: Rajendra Prasad

246. A NOTE¹

[On or after *February 7, 1935*]

There is no need to send sandals for Raj; they are available here. For you it would be good to work under Jyotiprasad in a village.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6631. Also C.W. 4279. Courtesy: Chand Tyagi

¹The note, addressed to the brother of Rajkishori, the widowed daughter-in-law of Chand Tyagi, was written on a letter Rajkishori wrote to her brother on February 7, 1935.

247. ABYSMAL IGNORANCE¹

A Harijan sevak writes:

On the occasion of the Jaipur Rajya Sammelan, which was held on 25-12-34, a khadi exhibition stall was set up on the first floor of a building overlooking the chowk, where the Sammelan was held. A Harijan boy was first in charge of the sales, and could be seen sitting in the gallery above by the *savarna* Hindus who were assembled in the *chowk*. The fact that a Harijan boy was allowed to sit at a higher level than themselves was very much resented by the *savarna* Hindus, who resolved at a *Panchayat* meeting that:

(1) No one from the village should attend the khadi exhibition on pain of excommunication.

(2) No one should send his girls to the local Kanya Pathshala, as it was connected with the Rajya Sammelan people.

(3) No one should permit teachers of the Harijan Pathshala to enter his home.

In spite of this ukase of the *Panchayat*, as many as 28 young men took part in the Sammelan. They were fined Re. 1 each, which they refused to pay. From three to four hundred persons used to dine together in the Sammelan kitchen without any distinction of caste. This fact has been seized upon by the reactionaries, who have raised the usual cry of 'Religion in danger'.

The conduct of the orthodox section in this instance is only a proof of our abysmal ignorance. A religion that cannot get rid of such invidious and inequitable distinctions between man and man is doomed to perish. The fact that the *savarna* reformers have remained undaunted by the threat of the boycott must be regarded as a happy augury. Let not those who may be affected by the boycott harbour any ill-feeling towards the orthodox party. At the same time, let no one be turned away from his duty by the threat of coercion. The reformers must proceed with their work with patient, silent determination, unaffected by anger or fear.

Harijan, 8-2-1935

¹ This appeared under "Notes".

248. HOW TO BEGIN? -III

I have dealt with some chief articles of food and shown what they mean to the villagers in health and wealth. There is, however, the equally important subject of sanitation and hygiene. Proper attention to these means increase in health, energy and wealth, directly and indirectly.

Some foreign observers have testified that, of all the nations of the earth, India comes, perhaps, to the top in the observance of personal cleanliness. But I fear that it is not possible to say the same of corporate, in other words, village cleanliness. In yet other words, we have not made much advance beyond the family interest. We would sacrifice everything for the family as distinguished from the village, i.e., in a sense, the nation.

Members of a family will keep their own home clean, but they will not be interested in the neighbour's. They will keep their courtyard clean of dirt, insects and reptiles, but will not hesitate to shove all into the neighbour's yard. As a result of this want of corporate responsibility, our villages are dung heaps. Though we are an unshod nation, we so dirty our streets and roads that for a sensitive person it is painful to walk along them barefoot. It is difficult to get clean, drinkable water in village wells, tanks and streams. The approaches to an ordinary village are heaped with muck and rubbish.

Village sanitation is, perhaps, the most difficult task before the All-India Village Industries Association. No Government can change the habits of a people without their hearty co-operation. And if the latter is forthcoming, a Government will have little to do in the matter.

The intelligentsia — medical men and students — can deal with the problem successfully if they would conscientiously, intelligently, jealously and regularly *do the work* in the villages. Attention to personal and corporate hygiene is the beginning of all education.

The things to attend to in the villages are cleaning tanks and wells and keeping them clean, getting rid of dung heaps. If the workers will begin the work themselves, working like paid Bhangis from day to day and always letting the villagers know that they are expected to join them so as ultimately to do the whole